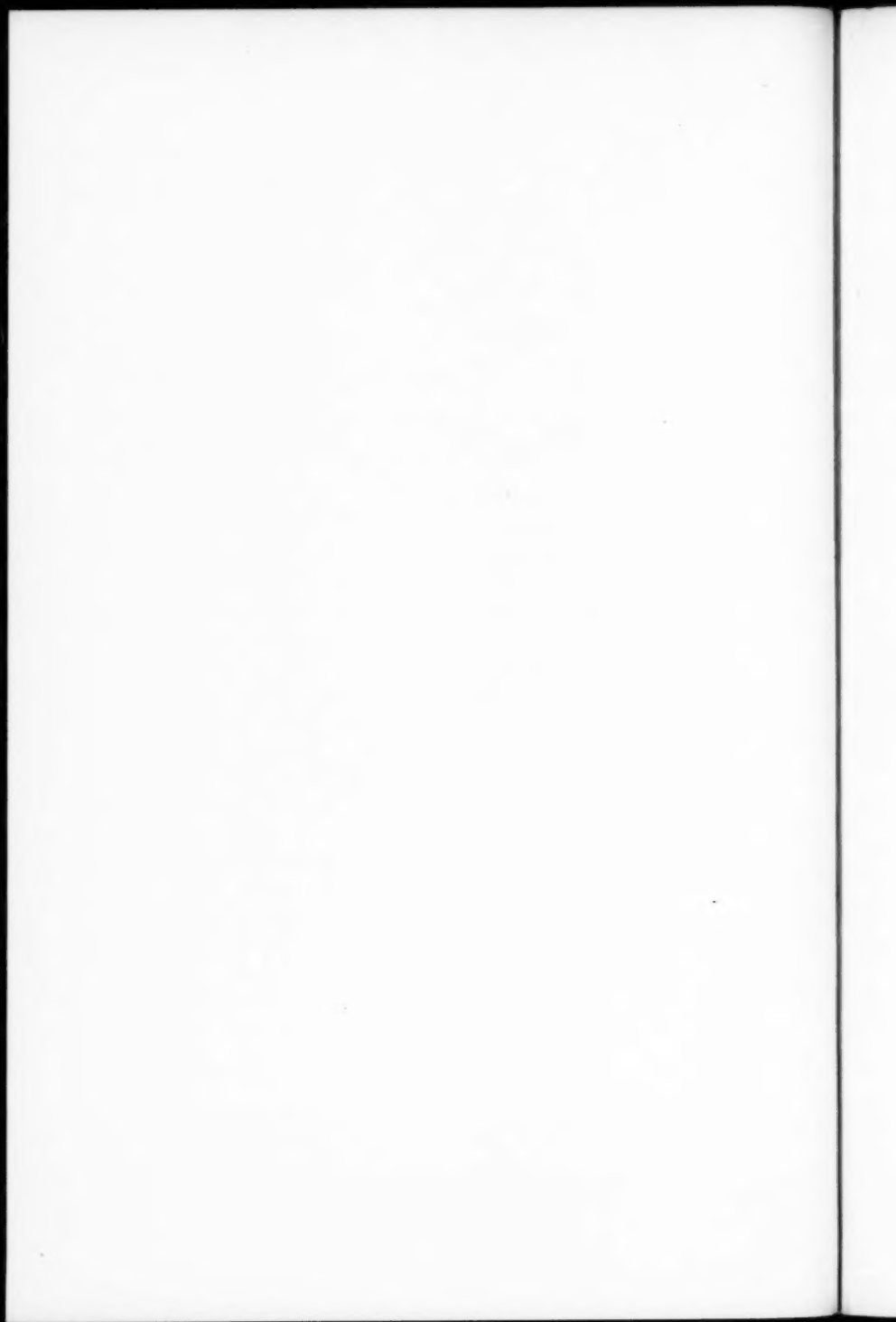


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WHEN AMERICA WAS THE LAND OF CANAAN¹

Volumes have been written on the causes of emigration from the various countries of Europe to the United States, and it may appear superfluous to add to the numerous articles that have appeared in print. A plethora of emigration statistics is available; monographs have appeared by the score; and it would seem that the subject has been attacked from every conceivable angle. But the historical profession still awaits the man with the magic touch, who by a process known only to the master can convert this tremendous mass of material into a masterpiece of historical synthesis. This master must sound the depths of the human soul and he must analyze the noblest as well as the basest emotions that play on the human heart. He will not concern himself with the people on whom fortune has smiled graciously, nor will he relate the exploits of the battlefield and portray the lives of kings and nobles; he will study the documents that betray the spirit, hopes, and aspirations of the humble folk who tilled the soil, felled the forest, and tended the loom — in short, who followed the occupations that fall to the lot of the less favored majority in every land.

Emigration from Sweden was a class movement that spread from the rural districts to the cities and towns. The fever sought its victims among those who were not inoculated with the virus of social distinction and economic prosperity; and when the epidemic was transported three thousand miles across the water, it took a more virulent form. In fact, it was transmitted most effectively by the thousands of letters that found

¹ This paper, read on June 14, 1929, at the first Hutchinson session of the eighth state historical convention, is based mainly upon documentary materials discovered in Sweden by the author as a fellow in 1927-1928 of the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation of New York. *Ed.*

their way from America to the small red cottages hidden among the pine-clad, rocky hills of Sweden.

It has become a commonplace that emigration from Sweden began in earnest after the close of the American Civil War, when, according to a newspaper account published in 1869, "the emigrants, as if by agreement, gathered from the various communities on certain days, like migratory swallows, to leave, without apparent regret, the homes and associations of their native land, in order to begin a new life on another continent."² Statistically this statement is accurate enough, but historically it is entirely misleading. Emigration from Sweden began in earnest in the decade of the forties, when the first "America letters" found their way back to the old country. These letters made a tremendous impression on certain persons at a time when a new world — a new and ideal world — was dawning in literature and in the press.³ Into this realm of the idealist the "America letters" fell like leaves from the land of Canaan. They were not only read and pondered by the simple and credulous individuals to whom they were addressed, and discussed in larger groups in homes and at markets and fairs and in crowds assembled at parish churches, but they were also broadcast through the newspapers, which, unwittingly or not, infected parish after parish with the "America fever." The contents of these documents from another world were so thrilling and fabulous that many editors were as glad to publish them as were the recipients to have them published. The result was that the most fanciful stories were circulated about the wonderful country across the Atlantic — a land of milk and honey.

A correspondent from Linköping wrote to a Jönköping paper in May, 1846, as follows:

² *Nya Wexjö-Bladet* (Växjö), May 22, 1869.

³ Papers like *Aftonbladet* (Stockholm), *Östgötha Correspondenten* (Linköping), *Norrlands-Posten* (Gävle), and *Jönköpings-Bladet* and writers like Karl J. L. Almqvist and Pehr Thomasson foreshadowed a new day in religion, politics, society, and economics.

The desire to emigrate to America in the country around Kisa is increasing and is said to have spread to neighboring communities. A beggar girl from Kisa, who has gone up into the more level country to ply her trade, is said to have painted America in far more attractive colors than Joshua's returned spies portrayed the promised land to the children of Israel. "In America," the girl is reported to have said, "the hogs eat their fill of raisins and dates that everywhere grow wild, and when they are thirsty, they drink from ditches flowing with wine." Naturally the gullible *bondfolk* draw the conclusion from such stories that it is far better to be a hog in America than to be a human being in Sweden. The emigration fever seizes upon them, and the officials are so busy making out emigration permits that they cannot even get a night's rest.⁴

One cannot escape the suspicion that this beggar girl from Kisa had read or had heard discussed a letter written at Jefferson County, Iowa, on February 9, 1846, by Peter Cassel, who the previous year had led a party of twenty-one emigrants — men, women, and children — from this parish. The departure of this man in his fifty-sixth year at the head of a large company of emigrants — large for that time — created a sensation in his parish and in neighboring parishes; and information about his adventure was eagerly awaited by his large circle of friends and relatives. And they were not disappointed. In describing the wonders of America, Cassel's pen vied with Marco Polo's. Iowa's corn, pumpkins, and hogs, seen through the medium of his letters, appeared as monstrous to the peasants of Sweden as Gulliver to the inhabitants of Lilliputia; and in contrast with the earnings of the American farmer the income of the Swedish husbandman shrank to insignificance. Even the thunder in Sweden sounded like the report of a toy pistol, compared with the heavy artillery of the heavens in America.⁵ In his first letter Cassel wrote thus:

⁴ *Jönköpings-Bladet*, May 26, 1846.

⁵ For a sketch of Cassel and a reprint of his letters, see George M. Stephenson, "Documents Relating to Peter Cassel and the Settlement at New Sweden, Iowa," in the *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin*, 2: 1-82 (February, 1929).

The ease of making a living here and the increasing prosperity of the farmers . . . exceeds anything we anticipated. If only half of the work expended on the soil in the fatherland were utilized here, the yield would reach the wildest imagination. . . . Barns and cattle sheds are seldom, if ever, seen in this vicinity; livestock is allowed to roam the year around, and since pasturage is common property, extending from one end of the land to the other, a person can own as much livestock as he desires or can take care of, without the least trouble or expense. . . . One of our neighbors . . . has one hundred head of hogs. . . . Their food consists largely of acorns, a product that is so abundant that as late as February the ground is covered in places. . . . Corn fields are more like woods than grain fields.

This *bonde* (land-owning farmer) not only was impressed with America's rich soil, its forests, its abundance of coal and metals, its rivers and lakes swarming with fish, but also wanted his friends at home to know that in other respects he had found a better world:

Freedom and equality are the fundamental principles of the constitution of the United States. There is no such thing as class distinction here, no counts, barons, lords or lordly estates. . . .⁶ Everyone lives in the unrestricted enjoyment of personal liberty. A Swedish *bonde*, raised under oppression and accustomed to poverty and want, here finds himself elevated to a new world, as it were, where all his former hazy ideas of a society conforming more closely to nature's laws are suddenly made real and he enjoys a satisfaction in life that he has never before experienced. There are no beggars here and there never can be so long as the people are ruled by the spirit that prevails now. I have yet to see a lock on a door in this neighborhood. . . . I have never heard of theft. . . . At this time of the year the sap of the sugar maple is running and we have made much sugar and syrup.⁷

⁶ "There is peace and prosperity here. I have come in contact with millions of people of all sorts and conditions, but I have never heard of dissension, and we have never been snubbed. There are black and brown people, but all are friendly and agreeable." Letter from Samuel Jönsson, Buffalo, New York, November 22, 1846, in *Östgötha Correspondenten*, May 26, 1847.

⁷ This letter, dated February 9, 1846, was published in *Östgötha Correspondenten* on May 16, 1846. It is reprinted, with English translation, in the *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin*, 2: 22-28, 55-62 (February,

If the beggar girl from Kisa had heard this letter read and discussed by simple-minded folk, little wonder that her imagination ran away with her. Surely Joshua's spies could not have found a more ideal land if they had gone to the ends of the earth. And this girl was not the only purveyor of "information" about America. In many parishes stories were current that in Gothenburg there was a bureau that provided emigrants with all the necessities for the journey — free of charge; that several vessels were waiting to transport emigrants to the promised land — also free of charge; that in two days enough money could be earned to buy a cow that gave fabulous quantities of milk; that all pastures were common property; that the grass grew so tall that only the horns of the grazing cattle were visible; that there were no taxes in that fortunate land; that rivers ran with syrup; that cows roamed at large and could be milked by anyone.⁸

There may have been occasional "America letters" published in the newspapers of Sweden prior to 1840, but they were rare, chiefly because the few Swedes in America were usually adventurers or deserters from vessels, who did not find it expedient to let their whereabouts be known. The interest of the press in these letters began with the publication in *Aftonbladet*, in January, 1842, of a long letter from Gustaf Unonius, a young man who had received some notice as the author of a volume of poems before emigrating with his bride and a few of the "better folk" in the early autumn of 1841. He used the columns of this widely read Stockholm daily to

1929). The abundance of fish and game was mentioned frequently in letters to the old country. See, for example, a letter from A. M. D——m, Taylor's Falls, Minnesota, in *Östgötha Correspondenten*, July 27, 30, 1853.

⁸ Correspondence from Döderhultsvik to *Kalmar-Posten*, April 23, 1852; *Landskrona Nya Tidning*, cited in *Borås Tidning*, June 13, 1854; *Hwad Nytt?* (Eksjö), February 18, 1869; *Wäktaren*, cited in *Dalpilen* (Falun), July 17, 1869; Aron Edström, "Blad ur svensk-amerikanska banbrytarelivets historia," in *Svensk-amerikanska kalendern*, 61-64 (Worcester, Massachusetts, 1882).

inform his friends and acquaintances, especially in and around Upsala, where he had been a student, about his experiences in the new world. Unonius was essentially a student and his letters were carefully phrased, with the advantages and disadvantages of America weighed in the balance; but he could write after a residence of one month in Wisconsin that it was unlikely that he would ever return to his native land, because he found his youthful dream of a republican form of government and a democratic society realized. He found no epithets of degradation applied to men of humble toil; only those whose conduct merited it were looked down upon. "Liberty still is stronger in my affections than the bright silver dollar that bears her image," he wrote. Three months later he could write: "I look to the future with assurance. The soil that gives me sustenance has become my home; and the land that has opened opportunities and has given me a home and feeling of security has become my new fatherland." The readers of his letters learned that the young idealist seeking to escape from the trammels of an older society had found something that approached a Utopia on the American frontier, although his writings about it resembled more the reflections of a man chastened by unaccustomed toil and hardships than the song of a pilgrim who had crossed the river Jordan.*

Within a few weeks an emigrant who preceded Unonius to Wisconsin by three years was heard from through the same journalistic medium, the man to whom the letters were addressed having been prompted to publish them by reading the Unonius document. The writer was John Friman, a member of a party consisting of a father and three sons, who settled at Salem, Wisconsin Territory, in 1838. The serious illness of the youngest son necessitated the return to Sweden

* His first letter was dated at Milwaukee, Wisconsin Territory, October 15, 1841, and published in *Aftonbladet*, January 4, 5, 1842; his second letter was dated at New Upsala, Wisconsin, January 23, 1842, and published in *Aftonbladet*, May 28, 30, 31, June 3, 7, 9, 1842.

of father and son, but the eldest son remained to carry on the correspondence with the "folks back home."¹⁰ In a later letter the young pioneer told about his first meeting with Unonius in the latter's home at New Upsala:

We are healthier and more vigorous than we ever were in Sweden. Many people from England and Ireland have already come here. Last fall, in October, a few Swedes from Upsala came here from Milwaukee, Mr. Gustaf Unonius and wife, married only six weeks when they left Sweden. A relative, Inspector Groth, and a Doctor Pålman have settled on a beautiful lake near a projected canal, twenty-eight miles west of Milwaukee, Milwaukee County. They have named the settlement New Upsala and the capital of New Sweden in Wisconsin. They are expecting several families and students from Upsala this summer. . . . I visited New Upsala last fall. They wanted me to sell out and move there. Father has probably heard of them. Last fall Unonius wrote to *Aftonbladet*. I hope his letter will awaken the desire to emigrate among the Swedes. . . . Altogether we own two hundred acres of land, and when we have our farm fenced and eighty acres broken . . . I wouldn't trade it for a whole estate in Sweden, with all its ceremonies. Out here in the woods we know nothing of such. . . . Give our love to Herman and say to him that we hope his health will be better than it was the first time he was here.¹¹

Herman's health was restored sufficiently to enable him, in company with a young man from another city, to undertake the journey to the "states" a few weeks later. Imagine the sorrow of the father when he received a letter informing him that Herman had entirely disappeared, his companion, who had arrived at the Friman farm in due time, being unable to give a satisfactory explanation of the mystery.¹² The public in Sweden was informed of the misfortune through the publication of the letter in the papers, and interest was even

¹⁰ Letters dated January 18, 1841, and July 4, 1842, in *Aftonbladet*, April 6, October 6, 13, 1842.

¹¹ Letter dated February 10, 1843, in *Skara Tidning*, May 18, 1843. Unonius mentions the meeting with Friman in his *Minnen från en sjuttonårig vistelse i nordvestra Amerika*, 1: 182 (Upsala, 1861).

¹² Letter dated February 10, 1843, in *Skara Tidning*, May 18, 1843.

more quickened by the letter from the father of the companion, answering *seriatim* the charges of the elder Friman brother that Herman was the victim of misplaced confidence in his fellow traveler;¹³ for weeks thousands eagerly searched the columns of the papers for the latest word about "brother Herman." The wonderful adventures the prodigal son related when he finally accounted for himself at the Friman farm not only cleared the name of his companion and relieved the anxiety of both fathers, but it gave to the "America letters" a halo of romance that made them, in a very real sense, news letters from the rich, mighty, and romantic land out there in the West.¹⁴ The muse of history suffers no violence by the assertion that one of the most interesting and widely read features of the Swedish papers were the "America letters."

In that unique and valuable work that emerged from the survey of a commission appointed by the Swedish government, some twenty years ago, to seek out the causes of emigration, appears a volume entitled "The Emigrants' Own Reasons," comprising letters written at the request of the commission by Swedish immigrants who had lived a longer or shorter period in the United States and Canada.¹⁵ These letters have their value, but it must be recognized that the writers unconsciously injected into them the retrospections of several months or years. There is, therefore, a vast difference between these letters and the "America letters" — naïve accounts of experiences written for relatives and friends, who were as simple and naïve as the writers themselves, and before retrospection had wrought its havoc. It is just this "unconscious" and naïve quality of the "America letters" that opens for the historian windows through which he can look into the cottages in Sweden and into the log cabins in the adopted country.

¹³ Letter from J. C. Melander, Eksjö, June 27, 1843, in *Skara Tidning*, July 13, 1843.

¹⁴ Extracts from several letters in *Skara Tidning*, November 2, 1843.

¹⁵ *Emigrationsutredningen*, 7: 131-263 (Stockholm, 1908).

The student of emigration who is satisfied with poring over statistics, government reports, and "social surveys" will never sound the depths of one of the most human phenomena in history. The much-abused psychologist in this instance is an indispensable co-laborer with the historian, for the theme of the historian of emigration is the human soul. The emigrant was a product of his environment, but he was not held in bondage by it; his soul could not be shackled, even though his body was the slave of harsh taskmasters.

In the large the contents of the "America letters" written in the years from 1840 to 1860 may be divided into two categories: (1) impressions of and experiences in America; and (2) comments on conditions in Sweden. With the exception of a few letters written by men of the type of Gustaf Unonius, the great mass of them were the products of men who had only a meager education and who grew to manhood before the generation that enjoyed the advantages provided under the act of 1842, by which every parish was required to provide a public school. The spelling is faulty, to say the least, and the punctuation is atrocious. New York becomes "Nefyork" and "Nevyork"; Chicago, "Sikago" and "Cicaga"; Illinois, "Elinojs"; Iowa, "Adiova" and "Jova"; Pennsylvania, "Pensarvenien"; Galesburg, "Gillsborg" and "Galesbury"; Albany, "Albano" and "Albanes"; Troy, "Troij"; Princeton, "Princeldin"; Rock Island, "Rockislan" and "Räckarlan"; Peru, "Pebra" and "Perru"; and Henry County, "Hendi counti." Not only were liberties taken with American place names but even many innocent Swedish words were mutilated beyond recognition. But the person who has the patience to spell his way through a mass of these documents cannot fail to acquire a profound respect for the ability of the writers to express themselves and for their sound and wholesome instincts. They reveal that in their native land they had thought seriously, and even deeply, about their own problems and those of their communities — probably more

than they or their neighbors at the time realized; but it was during the first weeks and months in America that they gave vent to their feelings and emotions and tried the powers of expression that had previously lain dormant. America gave them a basis for comparison and contrast: church, government, society, and officials at home appeared in an entirely different light; and the contrast was such that the emigrant had no desire to return in order to relate to his countrymen his strange experiences; on the contrary, he did all in his power to urge them to follow his example—to emigrate. The emigrant became an evangelist, preaching the gospel of America to the heavy-laden. For him the year of jubilee had come.

There are, of course, among the "America letters" that have been preserved a number that express regret that the transatlantic adventure was undertaken and, reveal a feeling of bitterness towards those who had painted America in such attractive colors and in that way had lured the writers into poverty and misery; but the overwhelming number of them are almost ecstatic in praise of the adopted country and bitterly hostile to the land that gave them birth. Some writers even went to the length of ridiculing or deriding those to whom their letters were addressed for remaining in a land unworthy of the man and woman of honest toil and legitimate ambition. Extracts from two letters written before 1850 are illuminating in this regard:

I doubt that any one will take the notion of returning to Sweden, because the journey is too long and expensive; and even if these considerations were minor with certain individuals, I doubt that they would go, for the reason that nothing would be gained. . . . Not until this year have I fully realized how grateful we ought to be to God, who by His grace has brought us away from both spiritual and material misery. How shall we show our appreciation for all the goodness the Lord has bestowed upon us! In like manner does He bid you, my relatives and friends, to receive the same grace and goodness, but you will not heed His voice. What will the Lord render unto you now? He will allow

you to be deprived of all this during your entire lives and in the future to repent bitterly of your negligence. We have the word of prophecy . . . and you will do well to heed it. . . . Ought not a place of refuge and solace be acceptable to you? . . . Now I have said what my conscience prompts me to say and on you rests the responsibility for yourselves and your children.¹⁶

The other letter contains the following admonition:

Tell Johannes . . . and others not to condemn me for failing to return home at the appointed time, as I promised and intended when I left Sweden, because at that time I was as ignorant as the other stay-at-homes about what a voyage to a foreign land entails. When a person is abroad in the world, there may be many changes in health and disposition, but if God grants me health I will come when it pleases me. If it were not for the sake of my good mother and my relatives, I would never return to Sweden. No one need worry about my circumstances in America, because I am living on God's noble and free soil, neither am I a slave under others. On the contrary, I am my own master, like the other creatures of God. I have now been on American soil for two and a half years and I have not been compelled to pay a penny for the privilege of living. Neither is my cap worn out from lifting it in the presence of gentlemen. There is no class distinction here between high and low, rich and poor, no make-believe, no "title sickness," or artificial ceremonies, but everything is quiet and peaceful and everybody lives in peace and prosperity. Nobody goes from door to door begging crumbs. . . . The Americans do not have to scrape their effects together and sell them in order to pay heavy taxes to the crown and to pay the salaries of officials. There are no large estates, whose owners can take the last sheaf from their dependents and then turn them out to beg. Neither is a drink of *brännvin* forced on the workingman in return for a day's work. . . . I sincerely hope that nobody in Sweden will foolishly dissuade anyone from coming to this land of Canaan.¹⁷

This letter may be said to be a prototype of the "America letters." It contains a mass of details, and almost every

¹⁶ Peter Cassel to relatives and friends, December 13, 1848, in the *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin*, 2: 78 (February, 1929).

¹⁷ Letter from Johan Johansson, Burlington, Iowa, November 12, 1849, in *Östgötha Correspondenten*, April 5, 1850. Compare the following statement in a letter from Stephan Stephanson, May 17, 1854: "There is no class distinction here, but all are equals, and not as in Sweden, where the

sentence breathes a deep-seated dissatisfaction with government, institutions, and society in Sweden and at the same time a remarkable satisfaction with everything American. This tone is characteristic even of letters written by persons whose first experiences in the new country were anything but pleasant. An emigrant from Småland, who emigrated with his wife and eight children in 1849,—one of the “cholera years”—buried one of his daughters on the banks of an inland canal, suffered several weeks with malaria, and just escaped being cheated out of his hard-earned savings, was happy over his decision to emigrate and looked to the future with high hopes for a better existence in spiritual as well as material matters.¹⁸ Another enthusiast, who had been exposed to dangers of various kinds, wrote: “We see things here that we could never describe, and you would never believe them if we did. I would not go back to Sweden if the whole country were presented to me.”¹⁹

It is obvious that statements like these were topics of lively discussion in the cottages of Sweden. The astonished people naturally hungered for more information and some of them inquired of their “American” friends how the morals of this marvelous country compared with those of their own communities. Where everything was so great and rich and free, and the population was recruited from all parts of the world, how could the Americans be so honest, sympathetic, and kind as the letters pictured them? A correspondent in 1852 gave his explanation of the miracle. The country was large, he said,

working people are looked down upon and are called ‘the rabble,’ whereas the lazy gentlemen are called ‘better folk.’” This manuscript is in the author’s possession.

¹⁸ Steffan Steffanson to relatives and friends, October 9, 1849, in Swedish Historical Society of America, *Yearbooks*, 11: 86–100 (St. Paul, 1926).

¹⁹ Unsigned letters from New York in *Norrlands-Posten*, December 29, 1856; and from Chicago, September 9, 1853, in *Nya Wexjö-Bladet*, October 7, 1853.

and the rascals were not concentrated in any one place; and if such persons did come to a community, they found no evil companions to add fuel to their baser instincts. Moreover, if they did not mend their ways, a volunteer committee of citizens would wait upon them and serve notice that they had the choice of leaving the community or submitting to arrest. The Americans would not brook violations of law and therefore drunkenness, profanity, theft, begging, and dissension were so rare as to be almost entirely absent. This letter of recommendation did not stop here. It praised the observance of the Sabbath and asserted that the young people did not dance, drink, or play cards, as was the case in Sweden.²⁰

Unlike the earlier travelers in America, who usually belonged to the upper classes in Europe, the emigrants found the moral standards on a much higher plane than in Sweden. During a residence of nine months in the new Utopia one emigrant had not heard of a single illegitimate child — yes, one case had actually come to his knowledge, and then a Swede was the offender. He found whiskey-drinking very unusual and the advancement of temperance almost unbelievable. In a midwestern town of about two thousand inhabitants (the seat of a college with seven professors and three hundred and thirty-nine students) one had to be well acquainted in order to purchase whiskey or strong wine. "From this incident you may judge of the state of temperance in American cities," he confided. After a residence of four years in southeastern Iowa, Peter Cassel testified that he had "dined in hundreds of homes," and had "yet to see a whiskey bottle on the table. This country suits me as a friend of temperance, but it is not suitable for the whiskey drinker."²¹

²⁰ Unsigned letter, dated January 23, 1852, in *Bibel-Wänner* (Lund), September, 1852.

²¹ L. P. Esbjörn to Peter Wieselgren, Andover, Illinois, May 23, 1850, a manuscript in the *Stadsbibliotek* of Gothenburg; Cassel to relatives and friends, December 13, 1848, in the *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin*, 2: 81 (February, 1929).

It is hardly conceivable that the Swedish immigrants were unanimously enthusiastic about temperance, whether voluntary or imposed by law, and the student of American social history would dot the map of mid-nineteenth-century America with thousands of oases; but it is nevertheless a fact that the Middle West, to which most of the immigrants gravitated, was in striking contrast to Sweden, where every land-owning farmer operated a still and where the fiery *brännvin* at that time was as much a household necessity as coffee is today. Men, women, and children partook of its supposed health-giving properties in quantities appropriate to the occasion. To many immigrants who had heard the speeches or had read the tracts of the great apostles of temperance in Sweden, George Scott and Peter Wieselgren, and had patterned their lives after their precepts, the rural communities of Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota must have approached their ideal.

We must not be deluded into thinking that all the earlier Swedish immigrants were saints or models of virtue, but many of their letters bear testimony to the fact that there was profound dissatisfaction with the state of religion in Sweden. The writers had listened attentively to pietistic pastors and Baptist and lay preachers with sufficient courage to violate the conventicle act or to incur the displeasure of the church authorities, many of whom made merry over the flowing bowl and served Mammon rather than God. One cannot escape the conclusion that religion played a greater rôle in stimulating the desire to emigrate than writers have hitherto suspected; and if the student of immigration wishes to understand why the Swedes in America have turned away in such numbers from the church of the fathers in favor of other denominations or have held aloof from all church connections, he will find a study of religious conditions in the homeland a profitable one. It is by no means purely accidental that the beginnings of emigration coincide with the confluence of various forms of dissatisfaction with the state church.

The immigrants quickly sensed the difference between the pastors in America and Sweden. In 1849 a writer put it thus:

There are also Swedish preachers here who are so well versed in the Bible and in the correct interpretation that they seek the lost sheep and receive them again into their embrace and do not conduct themselves after the manner of Sweden, where the sheep must seek the shepherd and address him with high-sounding titles.

Another requested his brother to send hymn books and catechisms, because the old copies were almost worn out with use.

We have a Swedish pastor. He . . . is a disciple of the esteemed Pastor Selligren [*Peter Lorenz Selligren, a prominent evangelistic pastor in Sweden*]. . . . During the past eleven months he has preached every Sunday and holiday; on week days he works the same as the rest of us, because his remarkable preaching ability makes it unnecessary for him to write his sermons. One Sunday I heard him preach for over two hours, and he was as fluent the second hour as the first.²²

A faithful disciple of the prophet Eric Janson drew an even sharper contrast between the two countries:

I take pen in hand, moved by the Holy Ghost, to bear witness to the things I have seen, heard, and experienced. We had a pleasant voyage . . . and I was not affected in the least with seasickness. . . . My words are inadequate to describe with what joy we are permitted daily to draw water from the well of life and how we have come to the land of Canaan, flowing with milk and honey, . . . which the Scriptures tell us the Lord has prepared for his people. He has brought us out of the devilish bondage of the ecclesiastical authorities, which still holds you in captivity. . . . Here we are relieved of hearing and seeing Sweden's satellites of the devil, whose tongues are inspired by the minions of hell and who murdered the prophets and Jesus himself and snatched the Bible from Eric Janson's hands and came against us with staves, guns, and torches, together with ropes and chains, to take away the freedom we have in Christ. But

²² Steffan Steffanson to relatives and friends, October 9, 1849, in Swedish Historical Society of America, *Yearbooks*, 11: 97 (St. Paul, 1926); Peter Cassel to relatives and friends, December 13, 1848, in the *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin*, 2: 75 (February, 1929).

praised be God through all eternity that we are freed from them and are now God's peculiar people. . . . This is the land of liberty, where everybody can worship God in his own way and can choose pastors who are full of the Spirit, light, and perfection. . . . Therefore, make ready and let nothing hinder you . . . and depart from Babel, that is, Sweden, fettered body and soul by the law.²³

The legal prohibition of conventicles and its consequences were fresh not only in the memory of fanatical Eric-Jansonists but also in the mind of a former master shoemaker from Stockholm, who wrote:

The American does not bother about the religious beliefs of his fellow men. It is the individual's own affair to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience, without interference from prelates clothed with power to prescribe what one must believe in order to obtain salvation. Here it is only a question of being a respectable and useful member of society.²⁴

Another letter describes the situation in America as follows:

It is not unusual for men of meager education to witness for the truth with much greater blessing than the most learned preacher who has no religious experience. There are no statutes contrary to the plain teaching of the Word of God which prohibit believing souls from meeting for edification in the sacred truth of our Lord Jesus Christ.²⁵

The sum and substance of the religious situation in America and Sweden is graphically stated in the words of an emigrant:

America is a great light in Christendom; there is a ceaseless striving to spread the healing salvation of the Gospel. The pastors are not lords in their profession, neither are they rich in the goods of this world. They strive to walk in the way God has commanded. They minister unceasingly to the spiritual and material welfare of men. There is as great difference between the pastors here and in Sweden as there is between night and day.²⁶

²³ Letter from Anders Jonsson, Bishop Hill, Illinois, February 9, 1847, in *Hudikswalls-Weckoblad*, July 17, 1847.

²⁴ Letter from Erik Hedström, Southport, Wisconsin, in *Aftonbladet*, September 20, 1843.

²⁵ Letter from Jon Andersson in *Norrlands-Posten*, January 12, 1852.

²⁶ Letter from Åke Olsson, Andover, Illinois, February 20, 1850, in *Norrlands-Posten*, June 3, 1850.

One of the highly prized advantages America offered to the immigrant was the opportunity to rise from the lowest to the highest stratum of society. He found a land where the man whose hands were calloused by toil was looked upon as just as useful to society as the man in the white collar. The man who chafed under the cramped social conventions of Europe could not conceal his joy at finding a country where custom and tradition counted for little and where manual labor did not carry with it a social stigma. He had probably heard that the American people had elevated to the highest position of honor and trust such men of the people as Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison, but the actuality of the democracy in the "saga land" proved to be greater than the rumors that had kindled his imagination back home. And so he sat down to write about it to his countrymen, who read with astonishment that knew no bounds such statements as the following:

The hired man, maid, and governess eat at the husbandman's table. "Yes, sir," says the master to the hand; "yes, sir," says the hand to the master. "If you please, mam," says the lady of the house to the maid; "yes, madam," replies the maid. On the street the maid is dressed exactly as the housewife. Today is Sunday, and at this very moment what do I see but a housemaid dressed in a black silk hat, green veil, green coat, and black dress, carrying a bucket of coal! This is not an unusual sight — and it is as it should be. All porters and coachmen are dressed like gentlemen. Pastor, judge, and banker carry market baskets.²⁷

And read what a boon it was to live in a land where there were no laws minutely regulating trades and occupations and binding workers to terms of service:

This is a free country and nobody has a great deal of authority over another. There is no pride, and nobody needs to hold his hat in his hand for any one else. Servants are not bound for a fixed time. This is not Sweden, where the higher classes and employers

²⁷ Letter from New York in *Aftonbladet*, reprinted in *Barometern* (Kalmar), June 5, 1852.

have the law on their side so that they can treat their subordinates as though they were not human beings.²⁸

The writer of this letter had probably felt the hard fist of his employer, because at that time physical chastisement was by no means unusual. If it was a great surprise to learn that a fine pedigree was not a requirement for admission to respectable society and to all classes of employment, no less sensational was the fact that the inhabitant of the western Canaan was not required to appear before an officer of the state to apply for a permit to visit another parish or to change his place of residence. In Sweden, of course, this official red tape was taken for granted, or its absence in America would not have called forth the following comment:

I am glad that I migrated to this land of liberty, in order to spare my children the slavish drudgery that was my lot, in this country if a laborer cannot get along with his employer, he can leave his job at any time, and the latter is obliged to pay him for the time he has put in at the same wage that was agreed upon for the month or year. We are free to move at any time and to any place without a certificate from the employer or from the pastor, because neither passports nor certificates are in use here.²⁹

This newly won freedom was, in some cases, too rich for Swedish blood. One of the first pastors among the immigrants was rather disturbed about the conduct of some of his countrymen:

This political, religious, and economic freedom is novel and astonishing to the immigrant, who sees the spectacle of twenty-two millions of people ruling themselves in all orderliness. As a rule, the Swedes make use of this liberty in moderation, but a number act like calves that have been turned out to pasture. In most cases their cavorting is harmless, but sometimes they run amuck. They seem to think that a "free country" gives them license to indulge in those things that are not in harmony with respect, uprightness, reliability, and veneration for the Word of God. . . . A rather

²⁸ Letter from Ake Olsson, Andover, Illinois, February 20, 1850, in *Norrlands-Posten*, June 3, 1850.

²⁹ Letter from Stephan Stephanson, May 17, 1854, in the author's possession.

characteristic incident illustrates this. A small boy, upon being reproved by his mother for appropriating a piece of cake replied: "Why, mother, aren't we in a free country now?"³⁰

Making due allowance for the orthodox pessimism of a minister of the Gospel in every generation, historical research applied to certain Swedish settlements confirms the observations of this shepherd.

To a Swede, whose tongue was trained to flavor with cumbersome titles every sentence addressed to superiors and carefully to avoid any personal pronoun, the temptation to overwork the second person singular pronoun in America was irresistible. The Swedish passion for high-sounding names and titles gave to the humbler members of society designations that magnified by contrast the grandeur of those applied to the elect. In his own country the Swede was shaved by Barber Johansson, was driven to his office by Coachman Petersson, conversed with Building Contractor Lundström, ordered Jeweler Andersson to make a selection of rings for his wife, and *skåled* with Herr First Lieutenant Silfversparre. There were even fine gradations of "titles" for the members of the rural population. Every door to the use of *du* was closed except in the most familiar conversation. The youngest member of the so-called better classes, however, might *dua* the man of toil, upon whose head rested the snows of many long Swedish winters. Can the sons of those humble folk in America be blamed for abusing the American privilege of using *du*? What a privilege to go into a store, the owner of which might be a millionaire, and allow one's hat to rest undisturbed! How much easier it was to greet the village banker with the salutation "Hello, Pete!" than to say "Good morning, Mr. Banker Gyllensvans!" "When I meet any one on the street, be he rich or poor, pastor or official, I never tip my hat when I speak," wrote an emigrant from Skåne in 1854. "I merely

³⁰ Letter from L. P. Esbjörn, Andover, Illinois, May 6, 1850, in *Norrlands-Posten*, June 20, 1850.

say 'Good day, sir, how are you?' "²¹ On the other hand, what a thrill it was for the immigrant to be addressed as "mister" — the same title that adorned the American banker and lawyer and the first title he had ever had! "Mister" was much more dignified than "Jöns," "Lars," or "Per."

The equality that the law gives is not the equality of custom. The lack of political rights is comparatively easy to remedy, but social customs are harder to deal with because they are not grounded in law. From his birth the Swede was hampered by restrictive conventions which, though not always seen by the eye, were always felt by the emotions. The walls between the classes of society and various occupations were practically insurmountable. A person could not pass from a higher social class to an inferior one, even though the latter better became his nature or economic status, because that would be an everlasting disgrace. If a *bonde* had come into financial straits, the step down to the condition of a *torpare*²² would have wrecked his spirit. Class distinctions in America did not assert themselves in the same way; very often the foreman and laborer were neighbors, sat in the same pew, and belonged to the same lodge. One immigrant wrote of this in 1854 as follows:

Titles and decorations are not valued and esteemed here. On the other hand, efficiency and industry are, and the American sets a higher value on an intelligent workingman than on all the titles, bands, and stars that fall from Stockholm during an entire year. It will not do to be haughty and idle, *for that is not the fashion in this country, for it is to use the axe, the spade, and the saw and some other things to get money and not to be a lazy body.*²³

²¹ *Carlshamns Allehanda*, August 3, 1854. Anders Andersson, who for some time after his emigration corresponded with a crown official in Norrland, soon changed his style of address from *ni* to *du*. See his letters edited by Anna Söderblom, "Läsare och Amerikafarare på 1840-talet," in *Julhelg*, 80-93 (Stockholm, 1925).

²² "Renter" suggests the meaning.

²³ Unsigned letter from Chicago, August 3, 1854, in *Skånska Posten*, reprinted in *Carlshamns Allehanda*, October 4, 1854.

If the men appreciated the equality in dress and speech, the women were even more enthusiastic. In the old country married as well as unmarried women were labeled with titles of varying quality and their work was more masculine, judged by the American standard. In the "promised land" they were all classified simply as "Mrs." or "Miss," and the heavy, clumsy shoes and coarse clothing gave way to an attire more in keeping with the tastes and occupations of the "weaker sex." In Sweden the maid slept in the kitchen, shined shoes, and worked long hours; in America she had her own room, limited working hours, regular times for meals, and time to take a buggy ride with Ole Olson, who hailed from the same parish. If she had learned to speak English, she might even have a ride by the side of John Smith—and that was the height of ambition! And for all this she was paid five or six times as much as she had earned in Sweden. In letter after letter one finds expressions of astonishment and enthusiasm over this equality in conversation and dress. One writer relates that the similarity in dress between matron and maid was such that he could not distinguish between them until the latter's peasant speech betrayed her. It is easy to imagine the thorn of envy in the hearts of the women in Sweden when they learned how fortunate their American sisters were. Another letter contains the information that the duties of the maid were confined to indoor work in the country as well as in the city and that even milking was done by the men, an amusing sight to a Swede.

It is rather strange that there was not more serious complaint about the hard work that fell to the lot of the immigrants. It is true that more than one confessed that they did not know what hard work was until they came to America, but there was a certain pride in the admission. It was probably the American optimism that sustained their spirits. They saw everything in the light of a future, where the "own farm" plus a bank account was the ultimate goal. This feeling of

independence and self-confidence was also heightened by the vast distances of the Middle West, its large farms, billowing prairies, and cities springing up like magic.²⁴ In contrast with the small-scale agriculture and the tiny hamlets of his native parish, the immigrant felt that he was a part of something great, rich, and mighty, the possibilities of which were just beginning to be exploited. Said a Swedish farmer in 1849:

Here in Illinois is room for the entire population of Sweden. During the present winter I am certain that more grass has been burned than there is hay in the entire kingdom of Sweden. . . . The grass now is just half grown, and the fields give the appearance of an ocean, with a house here and there, separated by great distances.²⁵

The Swede who came to the Mississippi Valley found a frontier society, with many institutions in advance of those of an older society and without the multitude of officials that strutted and blustered in Sweden. In fact, as one immigrant wrote, he was hardly conscious of living under a government, and the system of taxation fooled him into thinking that there were no taxes at all. The salary of the president of the United States was a mere pittance compared with the income of the royal family — a fact not omitted in the letters.²⁶

Not a few of the "America letters" go to extremes in setting forth contrasts between "poverty-ridden Sweden" and the rich and mighty republic. Here is an example:

We hope and pray that the Lord may open the eyes of Svea's people that they might see their misery: how the poor workingman is despised and compelled to slave, while the so-called better classes fritter away their time and live in luxury, all of which comes out of the pockets of the miserable workingmen. . . . We believe that all the workers had better depart and leave the lords and parasites to their fate. There is room here for all of Svea's inhabitants.²⁷

²⁴ Letter to *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning*, April 22, 23, 1852.

²⁵ Letter of O. Bäck, Victoria, Illinois, in *Norrlands-Posten*, April 3, 1849.

²⁶ *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning*, April 22, 23, 1852.

²⁷ Letter from Åke Olsson, Andover, Illinois, February 20, 1850, in *Norrlands-Posten*, June 3, 1850.

Quotations from the "America letters" could be multiplied to show the reaction of the Swedish immigrants to the American environment, but a sufficient number have been presented to demonstrate that they were unusually responsive to the impressions that rushed upon them soon after they had cast their lot with their brothers and sisters from Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, Norway, and Holland. And not only that, but their letters remain to record the fact that in America they found a society that nearly approached their conception of an ideal state. This explains why students of immigration agree almost unanimously that the Swedes assimilated more rapidly and thoroughly than any other immigrant stock. After all, why should anyone be hesitant about taking out naturalization papers in the land of Canaan? Some letters written by men who had had scarcely time enough to unpack their trunks read like Fourth of July orations:

As a son of the great republic which extends from ocean to ocean, I will strive to honor my new fatherland. A limitless field is opened for the development of Swedish culture and activity. Destiny seems to have showered its blessings on the people of the United States beyond those of any other nation in the world.³⁸

The Sweden of 1840-1860 is no more and the America of Abraham Lincoln belongs to the ages; but for hundreds of thousands of people in the land of the midnight sun America, in spite of the geographical distance, lies closer to them than the neighboring province. In some parts of Sweden the "America letters" from near relatives brought Chicago closer to them than Stockholm. They knew more about the doings of their relatives in Center City, Minnesota, than about Uncle John in Jönköping.

In deciphering an "America letter" the historian is prone to forget the anxious mother who for months — perhaps years — had longed for it, and the letter that never came is entirely

³⁸ Letter from C. P. Agrelius, New York, April 14, 1849, in *Östgötha Correspondenten*, July 4, 1849.

missing from the archives and newspaper columns. But if he turns the musty pages of the Swedish-American newspapers, his eyes will fall on many advertisements similar to the following:

Our dear son Johan Anton Petersson went to America last spring. We have not heard a line from him. If he sees this advertisement, will he please write to his people in Sweden? We implore him not to forget his aged parents and, above all, not to forget the Lord.³⁹

If many letters were stained with tears in the little red cottages in Sweden, there were not a few written by trembling hands in the log cabins of Minnesota and later in the sod houses of Nebraska. And sometimes the heart was too full to allow the unsteady hand to be the only evidence of longing for parents and brothers and sisters, as the following quotation reveals: "I will not write at length this time. Nothing of importance has happened, and if you come, we can converse. God alone knows whether that day will ever dawn — my eyes are dimmed with tears as I write about it. What a happy day it would be if, contrary to all expectations, we children could see our parents."⁴⁰ Miraculous things happened in the land of Canaan; it could transform a conservative Swedish *bonde* into a "hundred per cent American" in spirit, but it could not so easily sever the ties of blood. Neither could the storm-tossed Atlantic prevent sisters, cousins, uncles, and aunts from accepting invitations embalmed in "America letters" to attend family reunions in the land of Canaan.

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³⁹ *Chicago-Bladet*, January 13, 1885.

⁴⁰ Mary H. Stephenson to her relatives, November 3, 1867, in Swedish Historical Society of America, *Yearbooks*, 7:90 (St. Paul, 1922).

A NEWLY DISCOVERED WORK OF BELTRAMI

There has lately appeared on the shelves of a New York bookseller a pamphlet by Beltrami which, so far as is known, has escaped the attention of students of Minnesota history. It is a paper-covered pamphlet of thirty-six pages entitled *To the Public of New-York, and of the United-States*, by the "author of 'The Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi,' etc.," who at the end of his discourse signs himself "J. C. Beltrami, Member of many Academies." The date, "Dec. 1825," appears below the author's signature. The pamphlet was published in New York in 1825 and a copy is now in the library of Mrs. Gino Speranza of Irvington-on-Hudson, New York. A photostatic reproduction has been generously presented by her to the Minnesota Historical Society.

Beltrami made his picturesque "pilgrimage" to the Minnesota country and the sources of the Mississippi River in 1823. After leaving Fort Snelling, then known as Fort St. Anthony, he journeyed down the Mississippi River to New Orleans and in 1824 published in that city, in French, his first description of his travels, entitled *La découverte des sources du Mississippi et de la rivière Sanglante; description du cours entier du Mississippi . . . ainsi que du cours entier de l'Ohio*. As in his later book, written in English, the form was cast in the shape of letters to a lady — Madame La Comtesse Compagnoni née Passeri. As the author states, "Ces Lettres vous appartiennent, Madame. C'est à vous, et pour vous, que je les ai écrites." The book contained eleven such letters.

Upon Beltrami's return to Europe, he published in London in 1828, in two volumes, his well-known book in English entitled *A Pilgrimage in Europe and America Leading to the Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi and Bloody River, with a Description of the Whole Course of the Former, and of the*

Ohio. The first volume is descriptive of various "pilgrimages" in Europe; the second is devoted to America and contains two letters not included in the earlier French work — one written from Philadelphia describing the ocean voyage and one written from Pittsburgh describing Pennsylvania and adjacent regions. Following these two letters are the eleven letters that appear in the earlier French work. They are published in the same order, freely translated or transcribed — and Beltrami seems to have been as accomplished in writing English as French. The letters are again addressed "to my dear Countess," but in this instance her name is not published. Beltrami had previously divulged to Major Taliaferro at Fort St. Anthony that the countess was not his wife.

It is evident that the New Orleans work had considerable circulation throughout the United States, either in the original French or in translation, and that it met a very mixed reception. The nature of the criticism that appeared in newspapers, magazines, or in the conversation of the period is also revealed by what Beltrami has to say in this pamphlet brought out before he left these shores and before the publication of his English book in 1828. It was manifestly written in defense of the earlier New Orleans work.

In a sort of introduction Beltrami pays his respects to some of his critics in particular:

Multi multa dicunt concerning my *Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi*, &c.&c. but no one has yet shed the light of an impartial criticism upon it. I shall myself attempt to supply this deficiency. Let no one condemn my audacity, until they have first read me. I shall endeavour to develop the true sense of some passages, which appear to have been designedly misinterpreted or misunderstood. We must also promise not to abuse the patience of the reader: unless my nature be all at once changed, it is almost impossible that I should be prolix.

The present writer ventures to say the general reader would find, on the contrary, that this was quite possible.

First, let me say a word, with some reflections, upon what has been said, and done, for, and against my book, in order, that the public may the more properly appreciate this unusual attempt.

At New Orleans, I was deemed worthy of Paradise, in England, I was assigned to the Infernal Regions, and the Holy Alliance have condemned me to Purgatory.— No matter :

Integer vitæ scelerisque purus

Non eget Mauris jaculis neque arcu :

Happily till now I have escaped the darkness of *limbo*!

I have been told, that the Bishop of Louisiana has accused me at the court of Rome, as an arch-heretic, and has inscribed my name on his *Index*, whilst some prelates, and other respectable clergymen of devout and orthodox Mexico, have proclaimed me as a defender of the faith.

At Philadelphia, the editor of the *National Gazette*, the friend of Major Long,¹ (and whom all the world knows very well,) has prostituted truth, evidence, and the good sense of the public, to the necessity, which he cannot resist, of being malicious, and rude. See his paper of the 11th or 12th August, 1824.— Mark, I have committed no other fault towards him, but that of treating him with much politeness; which I have done also towards many others who have conspired with him, and sought, by secret and base devices, to prejudice the public of Philadelphia against my poor book.

The first article which appeared in this city, in the *Commercial Advertiser* of July 25th, compared me almost to Columbus, &c. &c. Exaggerated praise is no criterion; and it is always suspicious in the eyes of the judicious; but the writer speaks truly of the perfidious conduct, which for a year and a half, kept concealed 400

¹ The reference is of course to Major Stephen H. Long, organizer and leader of the government expedition of 1823 to the sources of the St. Peter River, which Beltrami accompanied as far as Pembina. The story of the "falling out" of the two men during the expedition is well known. The only reference to Beltrami in the official account of the expedition is the following note: "An Italian whom we met at Fort St. Anthony attached himself to the expedition and accompanied us to Pembina. He has recently published a book entitled, 'La Découverte des Sources du Mississippi,' etc., which we notice merely on account of the fictions and misrepresentations which it contains. S. H. L." William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of the St. Peter's River, Lake Winnepeg, Lake of the Woods, etc. Performed in the Year 1823*, 1: 314 (Philadelphia, 1824). Keating was the geologist and historiographer of the expedition.

copies of my book at Philadelphia, whither I had sent them from New-Orleans, to be distributed among the different cities of the East, and which had I not returned from Mexico, and made some enquiries respecting them, would never again have seen the light. A second article in the Evening Post of the 11th of August, gives me at first, praise without bounds; but concludes by accusing me of a disposition to satire, which does not constitute a just criticism; and a third article, a generous Macænas, under the signature of "Army," grants me a certificate, as if the self-evident truth of my book required testimony.

The National Advocate, whilst honouring me with his approbation, which I duly appreciate, seems to cast some doubt on my discovery, for in saying "this is the first important work on the topography of that section of our country, *written in the French language*," the reader is naturally led to conclude, that there had been others written in English; the praise is therefore *equivocal*.

Another journalist has amused himself with throwing oblique glances, with a quantity of "*not without*," upon the offering which a worthy son of unhappy Italy thought his duty to make to his country, and to friendship. The editor has all the means of announcing his opinion without marring articles confided to his paper, and which he was not asked to comment upon; certainly it is not generous, and the public will judge if it be courteous. The Prophet Samuel, was not wrong when he said to the Jewish People, *May Heaven preserve you from KINGS!*

The critique of the editor of the "Reveil," wants the extremes, *rectum et probatum*, prescribed by the Roman orator. In order to justify that part of his article, where he accords me some praise, he supports it by some passages, which he has done me the honour to transcribe from my book, and to offer to the public as possessing merit; but the part in which he accuses me of peccadillos, as he offers no arguments to prove them, it rather attests the frivolity than the soundness of his judgment; consequently after the law of Justinian in *Odiosis*, in thus accusing me, he condemns himself, and the reader cannot avoid absolving me.

The editor of the "New-York Review," has just indicated the title of my book in his 5th number; I dare not penetrate into his future sentence, but it is certain that he has commenced his article as an enlightened man, and a profound critic. The passions cannot constitute the basis of a just and enlightened criticism; it can only be founded on facts duly weighed, and compared: that is what this Editor appears to propose to himself; his scrupulous examination of every thing which has been written on the Mississippi,

and on the Savages, announces his desire to be just and impartial. If such be his disposition, I freely submit my discovery, my Savages, and my book to his judgment.

In fine the flattering letters of the Senate, of the Legislative body, of the Governor, and of the Mayor of New-Orleans; those of the scientific Dr. Mitchell, of the illustrious Guest of America, of the venerable patriarch of Monticello, and of other respectable persons, all these I ought to regard only as a testimony of their accustomed courtesy, and of their generous feelings for the efforts, which a poor, and solitary traveller constantly contending against obstacles, which nature and men were opposing to him, may have offered to society.

There are besides certain Dracon's, certain Seneca's, who taking their sophisms for principles, their passions for opinions have also been disposed to pass their sentence against my poor book, interpreting it after their own fancy: but *de minimis non curat prator*, and I recommend to them the famous inscription of the Temple of Apollo, *Nosce te ipsum*.

Amidst this labyrinth of opinions, of favors, and of passions, I cannot refrain from seeking the thread of Ariadne myself, and of entering the lists in my own person.

Beltrami then proceeds to discuss his Ohio River and St. Louis letters, since the accuracy or justice of some statements in these seems to have been questioned by the critics. The letters descriptive of the voyage up the Mississippi from St. Louis to Fort St. Anthony — made in company with Major Taliaferro — and of the Indians of the region are warmly defended.

It is my system never to read any thing on the subject of the countries I travel over, before I have formed my own judgment upon what I meet with there, in order that no extraneous impression should influence either my eyes, my thoughts, or my pen: I ought frankly to confess that the comparison, with what I have afterwards read, has made me sin a little against modesty. Will the reader permit me to turn his attention principally, as the most interesting, to the articles upon the census, the funeral ceremonies, the marriages, the councils, the wars, and the origin of these savage nations. The environs of Fort St. Anthony and the grand falls of the Mississippi are accurately described; but I dare not judge, whether my pencil has been skilful. If in these letters there are some *pointed touches*, it is because nothing is more offensive, to

an honest man, than diffidence; but one may see, that I write with the *ink* of *gratitude*, the least politeness that is accorded me, and with a *pencil*, which itself effaces, all the trifles which annoyed me.

The two letters descriptive of the journey from Fort St. Anthony to Lake Traverse and from Lake Traverse to the "Colonie de Pembénar" Beltrami "jumps over," but he adds:

One might believe, that I fail in the respect, which I owe to the nation, in *complaining* of an *individual*, who represented them in the expedition, with which I have been for some time associated. In my book, I have turned the affair into ridicule; in this note I shall condemn it to silence. The public are better judges than the cabalists and the wicked may think, and particularly, the public of the United States; they know the *heroes of the piece*; I am not troubled about it; and I resign my cause entirely to their judgment.

I shall limit myself to remark, that some of the beautiful situations, which one meets in the valley of the river of St. Peter, afford interesting scenery for descriptions; that some new traits of the savages, some curious anecdotes, and the history of the swan, the musk-rat, the buffalo, the wolves, merit all the attention of the reader. The wars, the horrors, and policy of the colony of Pembónel, and of the *North West* and *Hudson Bay* companies, offer a new proof that civilized man is more barbarous than the savage.—The dogs, also, act a part there, which adds something to the natural history.

Here again Beltrami is referring to the "differences" which arose between himself and Major Long, the leader of the expedition.

The eighth letter, descriptive of the journey from the Selkirk colony to the sources of the Mississippi and "Bloody" rivers, Beltrami describes as "the Achilles and the Hercules of my work; it is the shield upon which I repose myself."

I tremble every time, when I think upon the terrible situation in which my savage guides left me; and I feel with pride, that I have been more than human in not trembling then. And the sources of the *Bloody River* to the north going to throw themselves into the *Frozen Ocean*! . . . and the sources of the Mississippi to the south! . . . and the waters flowing on one side towards the Pacific, and on the other, towards the Atlantic! . . . and the phenomenon of that lake, which is only surmounted by the Heavens!

. . . Those enchanting situations! That silence! That sombre solitude!—My poor savage repast! My bark porringer!—What an assemblage of wonders, of thoughts, and of feelings, surrounding the eyes, and the soul! . . . —What an exalted idea of the Almighty, of the Great Architect of the Universe! . . . —Ah! Yes! It is with the most devout enthusiasm, I exclaimed, *how happy is one to believe!* It is here that my hypocritical calumniators ought to be confounded. . . . But, where religion is only a calculation, all good profession of faith is useless; in order to please them, one must believe as they wish, and blindly serve their ambitious projects, and their culpable policy. And these bitter and delightful remembrances! . . . —*Infandum regina jubes renovare dolorem.*—Let us only stop here a moment to allow some souls of sensibility to consecrate again their tears of regret and veneration to the most pure virtue, to the rarest friendship.—Such tears are equally honourable to the beings who weep, and to those who are the subjects of them.²

Of the remaining letters Beltrami says:

I have conducted the reader to the western sources of the Mississippi; I have marked, *with exactitude*, the places, where Messrs. Pike and Schoolcraft have arrived before me; I have shown him the entire course of this great river, all the lakes and rivers which flow into it; I detain him at the most interesting spots, to inspire his admiration; and, with incontestible evidence, I prove that the Mississippi is the first river in the world, and I hope that the Americans will find some new proofs of my esteem in the new reflections that I offer them there.

The picture of the dreadful Bacchanals at Leech Lake is of a horror entirely new, and I believe, that the terrible dangers, from which I have escaped, only through the miraculous interposition of that *Providence*, which has never abandoned me in this perilous undertaking, may affect the reader of sensibility.

So much for his comment on the substance of the "letters." The author then proceeds to tilt in knightly fashion against a number of unfriendly criticisms of a general nature which had been leveled at his "discovery."

You have now seen all the drama of my *Promenades*; you have seen that I have stopped upon some passages to fence against pas-

² The frequent series of periods in the passages here quoted are characteristic of Beltrami's nervous punctuation and do not indicate omissions for which the present writer is responsible.

sions, rather than against criticisms; let us now enter into the examination of some generical accusations, which are spread all over the work. Have patience! I set you a great example of it; I will take wings, and you, call all your attention! We shall finish sooner.

Too much Erudition! . . . That is not a bad fault; I accept the charge, and it is very reasonable on the part of those who understand nothing about it; but what one might believe to be an affectation is no more than a speculation. When I undertake to write, I am *very* lazy, and I must be careful of my writing arm, because it is an invalid. There is not a better secret to economise upon sentences, and words, than erudition. It sometimes imparts in two words what we should not be able to express with twenty. — For the rest, every one has his mania; there is mine: and to promise to correct myself, it would be to *renew* the promises of *Ovid*, who, at the moment he gave his father the hope that he would write no more verses, made one:

"Nunc tibi promitto nunquam componere versus."

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His Cynicism.— It is a folly to seek (as Diogenes) for a perfect man; such a one exists not: — we should be satisfied with telling some truths to correct him: if ever I have done so, you should be obliged to me. I write *delectando pariterque monendo*, and, the hypocrisy of language is incompatible with my nature. If I had flattered you, you would perhaps be wise enough to recal to my memory the famous lesson that Canute gave to his courtiers, at the sea-shore. We show a retrograde tendency, when we feel irritated against useful truths. It would be too soon, I think, for a people, who appear to be destined to go farther than any other. It is very easy to prove to your unjust detractors, that you have done in fifty years what no nation as ever effected, even during many ages; but, in the mean time an extreme pride might make them *Vates infaustos, fatal prophets*, upon your decline. In order to advance better, do not refrain from meditating upon every thing that casts Europe back; and remember, that the world is now in America; that, you are the first actors in it, and that, the good or bad example you may set, is the compass which conducts us to the port, or makes us run against the rocks.

His maxims against Religion.— What religion? that of speculators, of *Tartufes*? . . . I detest it! — that of Jesus Christ? . . . He knows my heart, and he constitutes my happiness with my conscience, as honest men, who are judges of my actions, contribute to it by their opinion. Besides, amidst the thousand ways that the

different sects, and almost every different individual (*Car tot copita tot sententia*) allow themselves to take, in order to attain eternal happiness, they might also allow me the privilege of selecting mine, particularly when I do not put any obstacle in the way of others. Intolerance was never the inhabitant of Heaven! She is the daughter of earth, or of hell. We employ ourselves in reciprocally accusing each other of Heresy, whilst God regards us all equally as his children; whilst he speaks to us, by the mouth of the Great Philosopher of the church — *Love me, and worship me as you please*.— Numa had recourse to false oracles, in order to correct and civilize his still barbarous people; our *Nymphs Egerias* now only speak to debase civilized beings, and to spread despotism over them. Interest, and ambition (as Bossuet says,) have so changed the Gospel, that the Lord Jesus Christ does not know it; and in order to satisfy their passions the better, they cover them with the cloak of Religion.— They will never see me an unbeliever, or an apostate; but yet they will never succeed in making me profess a faith, which is against God and against man. In the sight of God, there are no impious but wicked people, no good believers but honest men. I will regard this accusation, (as many others of the same weight,) with the hope of the Psalmist: *Concilium impiorum peribit*.

And then there was no map, a fault, by the way, which was corrected in the 1828 English edition.

A Map! . . . exclamat Egestus, and the *Turba*, without having read me, repeat a *Map*. *Cur tanta animis celestibus ira! . . .* Peace my dear Sirs! Reflect a moment, I beg you, that, in the short space of eleven months, I have travelled more than *six thousand miles*, through a most dangerous wilderness; I have written, and printed my book:— put yourselves in my place, and do better. . . . For the rest, by the example of candour, with which, at the sources of the Mississippi, I declared my own insufficiency, the presumptuous reader will find that he can gain on the side of modesty, what he loses on that of geography: and from the traces, that I have given, the least skilful geographer can very easily form a map. I have even believed to oblige you, in not delaying, to make soon known to you a discovery which should interest you; but, it is very true, that, *in this world, we are always discontented with ourselves or with others*.

On the rather delicate subject of egotism, Beltrami has this to say:

Less self love. . . . That is very singular! a man who, voluntarily, exposes himself to all sorts of dangers, who without the least assistance, and always striving against powerful impediments, has almost exhausted his patience, his courage, and his purse, to open new and interesting scenes to the observing world; a man, who has not even left a remembrance of himself upon those lakes, rivers, and unknown countries, which he has been the first to show to geography, can such a man be accused of egotism? May Heaven bless the Editor of the *Reveil*!

The charge of effeminacy, which evidently had been emphasized, moves Beltrami to one of his fervent panegyrics on the fair sex, the precursor of the long formal introduction in the English edition, dedicated to women in general.

The judgment of these *Trappists* shall in nothing affect my worship for this adorable sex, nor even in my last will. I bequeath my heart to *women*; my soul to God; and the wicked to the D. . . .

The last pages of the pamphlet are devoted to some general reflections on life, fate, things political, and things personal. One personal matter is referred to in the following passage:

I ought also to justify myself, with much respect, towards your First Magistrate, for, in having condemned to silence the homage, which I offered him with a copy of my work, a work concerning his country, I must believe that he thought there was something heterogeneous in it; and that it has profoundly displeased him.—I should not have touched upon this chord, which does not harmonize with my natural and reflected repugnance to speak of great personages; but the higher men are in authority, the more necessary it is to justify ourselves upon what may lead them into error, because, (whatever certain independent minds may say,) their good, or bad opinion often influences the *obsequious multitude*.—Certes in the United States, there is no court; but courtiers, like mushrooms, are plants indigenous to all countries, and like them succeed each other very quickly.

I have been frank, be you just.—You have lately given, with much solemnity, a great example of gratitude, confounding, by it, all those who think that the collective bodies, as Republics, are not susceptible of that feeling, which they believe to be the virtue of individuals; do not tarnish the splendor of it, by being insensible to the efforts I devoted to you; and remember that I am perhaps the only stranger, who has ever had the confidence to publish, upon

the scene of action, a book which treats of travels and discoveries, situated in the jurisdiction of his inexorable judges; remember that I am always before you without a rival, and without fear.

A more appealing note is struck in the following passage:

And in Europe, what is the fate that awaits me? . . . After all, I must reflect, that Demetrius, after having been named *Poilorcete*, for having taken so many cities, could not find an asylum in any; that the Fabius, the Marcellus of America, the Immortal Washington, has seen the moment when he was going to pay dearly for having been the Liberator and the Mentor of his countrymen; and that Napoleon, so extraordinary a man in prosperity, and so great in adversity, whose memory the world venerates as that of an universal genius, has been gnawed, as a new Prometheus, by Vultures of St. Helena, for having also dared to spread a new fire upon the earth.—If such things were, I, who am only an honest man, consequently nothing at all, I must submit to my fate, whatever it may be.—I shall accustom my soul to vicissitudes and sufferings, as Mithridates habituated his body to poison.

Beltrami, as is well known, was practically an exile from his native land. Though he ultimately returned to Italy and died in Bergamo, the city of his birth, his life was a stormy and tempestuous one. While undoubtedly grandiose, vainglorious, and sometimes ridiculous, yet he was also gallant, brave, and adventurous. He rode across the Minnesota horizon like some old armored knight clad in the mental panoply of the Middle Ages, to which period he really belonged.

EDWARD C. GALE

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

A NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN LANDNAMSMAN: OLE S. GJERSET¹

Ole S. Gjerset was born at Gjerset in Romsdal, Norway, on June 2, 1828. From youth he exhibited marked qualities of leadership, coupled with high intellectual gifts, an impressive personality, and great strength of character. With clearness of vision and a mind always open to new ideas he strove with zeal to promote intellectual and social progress, pursuing with energy and determination the aims which he sought to accomplish. In his dealings with others he was cheerful, kind, and liberal-minded, but upright and fearless. Viewing life and its relations in the light of imperative principles, he was governed in his conduct, not by tactics of expedience and compromise, but by qualities of character which have regard for truth and justice and never fail to render full account to the moral law.

As a young man he attended the Molde School at Molde, Norway, showing unusual talents as a student, and after completing the prescribed courses he was appointed teacher and precentor for the district of Frena in Romsdal. Here he married Karen Marie Eidem, her parents' only child and sole heir to her patrimony Eidem, an ancient farmstead whose history fades into the gray antiquity of saga times. A local historian, H. Haukaas, says about it:

The farm *Eidem* (Old Norse, *Eidheimr*) is one of the oldest in the district of Frena. According to the records it once be-

¹ This article appeared in the Norwegian-American Historical Association's *Studies and Records*, 3: 82-100 (Northfield, 1928), and is reprinted with the kind permission of Dr. Gjerset and of the editors of that publication. *Ed.*

Landnamsman literally means a man who takes land or settles. The term is used in the sagas especially about those who first took land and settled in Iceland.

longed to the royal estate of *Hustad* (*Hustadr*). In later times it became an estate for widows of the pastors of the Akre church. . . . To the royal estate Hustad belonged Malme, Dale (the home of Karen Marie Eidem's mother), Elnes, Haukaas (a family to which Karen Marie was somewhat closely related), Eidem, Stavik, and probably also Rødset, Valle and Reffshol. Those places were the original centers from which the whole district of Frena was populated. Between these centers the country was covered with forests in early time. According to a well established tradition also supported by other evidence, Eidem, Haukaas, and Elnes are the oldest places in the Elnesvaag district. Many persons well-known from the sagas lived here. At Haukaas lived, according to an old tradition, Hauk Haabrok, whom King Harald Haarfagre sent as messenger, or ambassador, to King Aethlstan of England. From the near-by chieftain seat of Tornes came Tora Skagesdotter, the queen of Haakon Jarl. Here also lived her father Skage Skoftesson, and probably also her brother Tiende-Skofte, who became *herse* in Bud (an old Viking naval station, not very far away). Bergljot, wife of the great chieftain Einar Tambarskjaelver, came from Tornes, and Svein Jarl was born there. Flint-heaps at Tornes and other places show that this district was settled very early. Booths for Viking ships, twenty-seven feet wide and ninety feet long, are found at Tornes, and the chief war beacon for the Frena district is found at Skutaas by the sea. It was used for the last time during the English blockade of the Norwegian coast in the war of 1808.²

After Ole S. Gjerset married Karen Marie and took possession of Eidem he resigned his position as teacher and devoted himself to husbandry and farming. It was his ambition to improve and enlarge his wife's patrimony, to make it a model estate in equipment, buildings, and method of tillage. New tracts of land were added to it, and laborers were hired who worked from year to year, constructing drainage ditches, clearing the land of stone, and bringing it under cultivation. Some gratuitous work was also rendered by the cotters and peasants who dwelt on small parcels of land belonging to the estate, for which, in lieu of rent, they were to render a certain amount of work gratuitously or for nominal pay, according to the custom still prevailing at that time. As the forests of

² H. Haukaas to the writer, March 9, 1924.

the estate could yield sufficient pine timber for building purposes, Gjerset also undertook to erect new buildings, the most important being a large two-story dwelling house, which was in due time completed. The herds of sheep and cattle were also increased. Some welcomed the spirit of progress which thus began to manifest itself, but others shook their heads in doubt and misgiving. Why were new acres always added to the old, drainage ditches constructed, new buildings erected? Since Eidem was already a large farm, was it not pure pride and arrogance, not to say disregard for old traditions, to make all these unnecessary changes? Furthermore they had heard that changes might be expected also in other lines. Where would it end? The answer was difficult for those who pondered and shook their heads. Only one thing was clear; Eidem was no longer to sleep in poetic undisturbed repose. The wheels of progress had begun to turn in obedience to a new will, strong and positive.

In public life Gjerset held many positions of trust, which consumed much of his own time. The laws of his country he had studied diligently, and he was so well posted that he became the spokesman and leader of the people of the district in all matters pertaining to popular rights and public policy. Especially did he devote himself with energy to the promotion of the great issue of an improved system of public education. Before his day the instruction of children had been in the hands of itinerant teachers, not always well qualified for their calling, and the branches taught aimed at nothing more than to impart sufficient religious knowledge for confirmation in the Lutheran state church. Through untiring effort Gjerset succeeded in bringing about the establishment of permanent district schools with properly qualified teachers and with a curriculum of studies which aimed at a general public education. Upon a visit to Eidem in 1910 the writer of these lines walked along the chaussée toward a cluster of houses which he remembered,

but which he had not seen since he left them on a May morning at the age of five and a half years. Now he had come to view once more the never-fading scenes of childhood. The day was beautiful, the mountains majestic, strange, yet partly familiar. Vague memories of childhood arose like a distant *fata morgana* at every turn. There again was Eidem. How strange!

On passing the public school he stopped to speak to the teacher, who was in the garden. He was introduced, and when his name was mentioned, the teacher stared. . . . "Gjerset! The son of Ole S. Gjerset?"

"Yes."

"Why, your father founded this school."

This and like bits of gratuitous information helped to fill the vague outlines of childhood memories with more tangible features of the past. He resumed his walk with new and thoughtful interest.

In his own home Gjerset always welcomed young people who came to receive from him without compensation instruction in singing and other useful branches. In him they found not only an able teacher who awakened in them love of knowledge and of careful and thorough intellectual work, but also a broad-minded and fatherly companion who understood them and their little problems and sympathized with them. One of those who in this way had sought his help, a very intelligent man, Bjarte Hatlebak, who died recently at his home near Eidem at the age of eighty-six, says: "When Gjerset came to Eidem, I hired out to him in order that I might be near him and profit by his instruction. Whatever I possess of book-knowledge I have learned from him." We can probably say without contradiction that wise is the man who knows how to win the hearts of his fellow men. That Gjerset had done so is made evident in many ways. Upon reaching Berlin, Germany, after a visit to Eidem in 1910, the writer of these lines received a letter from a man living somewhere

in the Frena district, in which he says: "I have heard that you have been at Eidem. If I had known that you were here, I would have come if it were ever so far, for I knew Ole S. Gjerset, and traditions about him are still told in these districts."

But progress was slow in Romsdal. The soil was poor and the climate unfavorable. Farming, husbandry, and the fisheries brought small returns, and as a family of children were gradually born to the owner of Eidem, he began to think of their future and what chances they might have to fight life's battles successfully where nature yielded her blessings in so scant a measure. The improvements made would scarcely increase the net income, and in spite of added acres and increased herds he found that for the children the future did not look promising. For some time he had studied carefully the accounts of America, the land of opportunity with its salubrious climate and endless areas of rich soil which could be had for the asking. Would it not be better to seek a brighter future for the children in the new world? These thoughts gradually ripened in his mind into a firm resolve. He would do what others had done, leave friends and fatherland and seek his own and his children's fortune in the United States of America. Sad days now dawned upon the Eidem household. Friends of high station and low pleaded with him not to leave his fine home and the district that needed his services, but the die had been definitely cast. As Karen Marie was the only child, there was no one near of kin who could become the owner of Eidem. The estate had to be alienated from the family, sold to strangers, a special calamity in Norway, where estates are usually held in unbroken family ownership century after century and are regarded as the basis of everything permanent and worth while in family life and tradition. But sentiment can have no voice in the hour of supreme necessity. Eidem was sold, the household goods disposed of under the auctioneer's hammer, and preparations were made for the

great journey. On a May morning in 1871 wagons stopped before the door at Eidem. On these, chests and baggage were loaded; the family stood ready to depart. Only Karen Marie's old mother was to remain behind, as she considered herself too old to venture upon so hazardous a journey. If there is anything more bitter than death, Grandmother Eidem must have experienced it that day, when she was to part forever from her only daughter and all her grandchildren. Aged and alone she was to return to the house, now empty — sold to strangers. For Karen Marie the cup of grief was no less bitter. Every step taken in the long preparation for the journey had been an agony; and now the day had finally come when the tenderest ties must be severed, when she must part from her mother, her friends and associates, her home and patrimony, to begin a long journey into unknown lands, where she must live a lonesome life among strangers. But the bitter cup had to be drained for the sake of the children who accompanied her. If they have ever enjoyed any advantages, any good fortune in this new land, let them not forget the price at which it was purchased. With that as a commentary let them sit down and ponder again the old commandment: Honor thy father and thy mother. The wagons moved on, and Eidem disappeared from view.

In the little family group of emigrants was also Ole Eidem, Karen Marie's son of a former marriage, now nineteen years old, tall and handsome, gifted and well educated, charming in manners and conversation, always a great favorite. He was leaving his grandmother and a girl of his own age to whom he was engaged, but in the bitter moment of parting he was buoyed up by the imagination and hopefulness of youth. In a few years he could probably return to see again his grandmother and his fiancée. It was a fond hope which was never realized. He became in America a popular and successful merchant, but died in Watson, Minnesota, at the age of fifty-six, without ever visiting Norway again.

From Bergen, Norway, the family went by steamer to Hull in England, whence they proceeded overland by train to Liverpool. Here they embarked on the steamer "Peruvian" of the Allan Line, and reached Quebec, Canada, after a voyage of eleven days. Through Canada they traveled on the customary railway immigrant trains to Grand Haven on Lake Michigan, and they crossed the lake in a steamer to Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The journey was thus finished in as short a time and with as much comfort as circumstances in those days would allow immigrants. But the ride day after day through the forests of Canada in immigrant cars with hard wooden seats, coupled to long freight trains with little or no comforts or accommodations was very trying for Karen Marie, who was in delicate health and had a family of little children to care for. From Milwaukee they continued their journey by train to La Crosse on the Mississippi. But here Gjerset became seriously ill from the excessive heat and the humid and oppressive summer atmosphere of the Mississippi Valley, so unlike the cool mountain air of Norway and the fresh breezes of the sea to which he had been accustomed. After some weeks of illness and convalescence the journey was continued by steamer up the Mississippi to St. Paul and Minneapolis, and thence, on the Manitoba Railroad, to Litchfield in Meeker County, Minnesota, where another stop had to be made. Upon diligent search Gjerset was able to find lodging for himself and his family in the log cabin of a Swedish settler, Tørnbom, in the woods at some distance from Litchfield, and here shortly after their arrival, his daughter Amalia was born. No medicines or medical aid could be had, and the comforts in that cabin were about the same as on Robinson Crusoe's island; but there was at least shelter and the cheering presence of fellow human beings who were glad to render assistance to the extent of their ability—important things when we return to life's fundamental elements. Karen Marie, who was rather diffident and timid in small matters,

was always very brave when she was brought face to face with a real crisis, and never did she display greater courage than in those trying days in the Tørnbom cabin.

As soon as the days of danger and anxiety were over Gjerset set out alone upon a journey to find a suitable location for a home in this sparsely settled frontier region, going first by train to Benson, which was almost as far as the Manitoba Railroad was yet built. From Benson he turned southward on foot across the prairies, and continued his march till he came to the Big Bend on the Chippewa River in Chippewa County, Minnesota. Nowhere, he thought, had he seen finer farm lands, and after careful deliberation he filed on a claim of eighty acres, according to the provisions of the homestead law at that time. When he returned to his family at Litchfield, he could tell them that he had now become the prospective owner of a fine tract of land in as beautiful a farming country as he had ever seen. He felt buoyed up by a new hope. If great sacrifices had been made, if trials had been endured, he felt that the future gave promise of rewards which were already beginning to appear.

Energetic preparations would now have to be made to build a home on the new land and to put a part of it under cultivation. The purchase of a wagon, draft animals, and other necessities was, therefore, undertaken promptly. As horses were scarce and costly in this new country, he followed the custom of pioneer settlers and bought, besides a new wagon, a pair of steers of the usual Texas type, tall and bony, with immense spreading horns. There could be no doubt that they could pull even the breaking plow. Never before had he used such a wagon or such a team. Assisted by his oldest boy, Oluf, about twelve years of age, later lawyer and state senator in Chippewa County, he hitched up the steers to get a little practice. It was a fine June day, and things seemed to go well. Seated in the wagon he and Oluf drove along the road from Litchfield, where the purchase had been made, when suddenly

the steers gave a start and launched into a wild runaway. Not even the swiftest horses could have excelled in speed these muscular giants of the prairies. The wagon and its contents were scarcely an impediment. On they rushed in mad panic as if fleeing from some invisible enemy, impelled by the primeval instinct of *sauve qui peut*. Oluf, the embryo state senator, clung as well as he could to his place in the wagon-box, but Gjerset himself, growing alarmed at the outlook, tried to jump from the wagon, and landed on his head in a clump of hazel bushes. But under the hot June sun even the giant steers could not long continue this violent exercise. They were soon so overheated and exhausted that they had to stop for breath. Their fear as well as their energy was gone, and they walked quietly the rest of the way to the Tørnbom cabin. The wagon, being new and strong, was not damaged, and as Gjerset and Oluf had escaped injury no great harm had been done. Was it that the steers had acted in obedience to a sudden mischievous impulse or did they only wish to take a little physical exercise of the kind they usually indulged in on the prairies? Who knows? But the performance was often repeated later, sometimes with more serious consequences to themselves.

When the journey could again be resumed after the stay at Litchfield, the Gjerset family went by train to Benson, while Ole Eidem and Oluf were to follow with the oxen, the wagon, and the greater part of the baggage. Benson at that time consisted of a very simple wooden railway station and a few board houses, called stores, in which some enterprising young men were doing a little retail business. After some days Ole Eidem and Oluf arrived with the oxen and baggage, without having suffered any mishap, and the preparations were then begun for the last stage of the journey to Big Bend on the Chippewa River. Early one morning chests and baggage were loaded onto the wagon, the steers were hitched to it, Karen Marie and the children — Oluf, Gurianna, Søren, Knut, Magnus, and the infant sister Amalia — were placed as securely

as possible on top of the load, and the march began over the prairies towards Big Bend, twenty miles away, Gjerset and Ole Eidem driving the steers. The prairie stretched as an unbroken plain to the horizon in all directions. No hills or trees greeted the eye, except along the Chippewa River, where there were small areas of timber. But there was something impressive in these vast stretches of level fertile soil, which seemed to offer such unusual opportunities. There was sunshine and song of birds, a luxuriant growth of grass and wild flowers. It was America, or their part of it, as they first learned to know it. The hope of home and rest finally beckoned the little group of weary immigrants, long since tired of watching the ever-changing scenes. The steers trudged on patiently. Fortunately their old malicious mischief-making impulse did not seize them. What if they had run away? What would have become of Karen Marie and the infant Amalia, and the rest of the children, seated on top of the load? They would undoubtedly have been scattered along the prairie among the chests and baggage, and if alive how could they have reached Big Bend, twenty miles away? But the steers behaved unusually well that day, as if conscious of a great responsibility. It was one of the few times they did not run away when hitched to a wagon. In the evening the Gjerset family reached Nils K. Hagen's log cabin in Big Bend, where they were received with open arms by Nils Hagen and his splendid wife, Kari. The comforts of home and the cheering friendship of sympathetic people had been found, and the Hagens invited the strangers to share the cabin with them until they could build their own house on their claim near by.

Without delay Gjerset began to haul lumber from Benson for erecting a house, and this work was carried forward with such energy that the family could establish themselves in their own home before fall. Hay was cut for the oxen and cattle, and a few acres were broken so that a small crop could be raised the following year. More could not be accomplished

the first season. Hagen warned Gjerset of the danger of prairie fires, and told him how to safeguard himself against it. A few furrows were broken around the house some rods apart, and the grass between these was burned. With the breaking to the north of the house and this protection on the other sides it was thought that ample precaution had been taken. But Karen Marie was troubled with an apprehensive dread of this new enemy. She would often take a chair and seat herself on the breaking with the children about her, in an effort to protect them against this mysterious danger which, she had been told, might sweep down upon them at any time, as soon as the grass withered in the fall. There was in her nature a strain of tender melancholy, probably due to dramatic experiences in her own life. What sacrifices had she not made! And how great the change for her and her family! But the children were good companions, as they kept her constantly occupied in waging a brave battle for their welfare and protection, and being by nature very active, she found little time to brood over losses or the changing whims of fortune. Even the dread of prairie fire kept the mind in a state of tension and created a certain interest in life. One day in the fall a good breeze was blowing, and the sky was gray with a haze which resembled smoke. In the evening the sky was lit up with a lurid red illumination, and before long the whole horizon to the west and northwest seemed to be aflame. The prairie fire was coming. In the dry tall grass of sloughs and prairie, fanned by a good breeze and with nothing to impede its progress, it traveled with incredible rapidity. The roar of the flames was heard like a rumble even at a great distance, and in the darkness of the night the surging ocean of fire might strike terror into the stoutest heart. Karen Marie and the children were wailing in helpless fear. She pleaded that they should all retreat to the breaking, which would afford some protection; but Gjerset, who had never yet flinched in the face of danger, maintained that there was no cause for alarm, that

all necessary precaution had been taken. Why should they flee? There was no time for long deliberation. On the fire came with a rush. Rags and pails of water were grabbed and the children were ordered to stay in the house. The critical moment had come. Karen Marie forgot her tears and heroically joined the little fire brigade which sallied forth to fight for the house. Quick as thought the fire was upon them, the wind carrying it with one mighty sweep across the furrows and the fire-break so that the flames enveloped all. But the danger was soon over. The fire-break had broken the solid front of the onrushing flames, and although they swept across it, they did not immediately gain any force on the other side, and Gjerset, Karen Marie, Ole Eidem, and Oluf, armed with wet rags, soon brought them under control. The house was safe, and the fire was already far beyond it, going towards the near-by Chippewa River, where it stopped. Behind lay the prairie, black as a mighty pall, dotted here and there with whitening buffalo bones.

As far as the eye could see there were no human habitations. The Indians had been moved away after the great massacre in Civil War times, but the settlements throughout this region, having made little progress since those trying days, were still small and scattered. A few log cabins were found along the Minnesota and Chippewa rivers, but Montevideo, which is now a city of over four thousand people, consisted at that time of a mill run by water power from a river dam; and as the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad was not built till many years later, Benson in Swift County and Willmar in Kandiyohi County were the only markets for wide areas. But settlers soon began to pour into this new region, mostly Norwegians, coming either directly from Norway or from older settlements in Wisconsin, and in a few years all available homestead land was taken. Many of the settlers had large families, and the population grew rapidly. Nikolai Hanson had six sons and three daughters; Gabriel Gabrielson, one son and six daughters; Morten Larson, two sons and six

daughters; Nils K. Hagen had seven children, four sons and three daughters; Knut Johnson had thirteen children, most of whom were born in the settlement; to Ole S. Gjerset nine children were born, of whom one died in infancy in Norway. The three youngest, Amalia, Albert, and Carolina (Mrs. T. C. Wollan), were born in America. In large sections of Chippewa County the settlers were almost exclusively Norwegians. The same was the case also in the counties of Swift, Pope, Stevens, Kandiyohi, Renville, Yellow Medicine, and Lac qui Parle. In this fertile region was thus founded one of the greatest Norwegian settlements in America.

Ole Gjerset had not come to America in quest of an opportunity to make a living. His main purpose had been to enable his children to become more successful and prosperous under the stimulus of a more favorable economic environment, and he considered it necessary, therefore, to acquire so much land that farming could become an occupation of some importance. Early efforts during the first few years convinced him that the soil was fertile and would yield big returns if it was properly tilled and if no untoward circumstances hindered the growing of crops. Horses and farm machinery were purchased, and all the available land on the first eighty-acre homestead was put under tillage, another eighty acres being added after some years. As the large land grants of the Manitoba Railway extended through this region, every other section of land was owned by the railroad company, but this land was not placed on the market for sale till many years subsequently. Of this land Gjerset took possession of two quarter sections, with the expectation of purchasing them as soon as the company should offer them for sale. They were permanently added to the old homestead through purchase by one of the younger sons, Magnus, who later became the owner of the farm. The area of tillable land had thus been increased to 440 acres.

In 1873 the Timber Culture Act was passed by Congress for the purpose of reforesting treeless areas in the West. It provided that a man might secure title to a quarter section of the

public lands by planting forty acres of timber, and proving a ten-year growth. These terms proved too difficult and were later modified to ten acres in trees and an eight-year growth, but even then the terms were so difficult that only slight results were obtained. Gjerset filed early on a quarter section, according to the first provision of the law, and undertook the difficult task of planting and cultivating forty acres of timber. The ground had to be cultivated for some years to put it in a proper state of tillage. The trees were then planted, twelve feet apart, as the law provided, and were cultivated, pruned, and cared for during the next ten years. The undertaking was successfully completed, the only one of the kind ever carried through according to the first provisions of the Timber Culture Act in all that great region. Gjerset became the owner of the quarter section, and forty acres of timber on the treeless prairie now stand as a unique monument to his industrious and intelligent efforts. The place was later bought by his son Oluf, practicing lawyer in Montevideo, Minnesota, who has added new tracts, increasing it to over 600 acres. After acquiring this new quarter section the area of tillable land in Gjerset's possession amounted to 640 acres.

If farming had been as profitable as the fertility of the soil seemed to promise, even this area would probably have been considerably increased. According to the old Norwegian view, well established from early ages, land possessed a certain dignity and worth, aside from its purely commercial value. It was the pride of the old chieftains; it insured economic well-being and personal independence; it gave stability and permanence to the family in whose possession it remained from century to century. This view of land as a family heritage which Gjerset had acquired from his fathers he also transmitted to his sons. Only two of them, Magnus, who became the owner of the old homestead, and Søren, who died young, engaged in farming as a vocation, but all of them became

owners of farm lands, even of considerable areas. In all they acquired title to not much less than three thousand acres. But it is worthy of note that this land was held largely for reasons of sentiment, in harmony with the old conception of land ownership, rather than as a speculative venture. For long periods of years, during the ups and downs of prices this land was held, even when it might have been sold to good advantage from a business point of view, and in most cases these large tracts of good farm lands have been of little economic importance to the family.

Farming in the great Northwest in pioneer times was associated with many hardships due to lack of markets, fuel, roads, mills, and every comfort and convenience belonging to well-organized rural communities. But more grievous were the bitter disappointments wrought by unfavorable climatic conditions and other unforeseen ills. In this large, treeless, inland region the climate in early days was unusually capricious and severe. In the winter there was usually a very heavy fall of snow accompanied by excessive cold and violent storms which often lasted for several days. It might then happen that pioneer farmers in trying to make their way with their teams of oxen through the snowdrifts and over the trackless prairies would perish in the terrible blizzards. In the summer there might be an excessive rainfall or there might be great heat and prolonged drought. Often when early prospects were good, the harvest might be very meager, but if no destruction or damage was wrought it might yield fine returns. In spite of difficulties real progress was made during the early years, and the pioneer farmers felt encouraged and hopeful.

But now that they were beginning to feel that they were successfully surmounting the difficulties of pioneer life, they were suddenly overwhelmed by the calamity wrought by the Rocky Mountain locusts, which for years harried the Northwest, destroying the crops over large areas. In 1873 great

damage was done in Nebraska, Iowa, southern Minnesota, and other places; but greater still was the havoc wrought the following year, when the young generation of insects, hatched from eggs laid in the ground, attacked the growing vegetation early in the season. In many places the crops were wiped out, and the hardships of the farmers became so great that in southern Minnesota many abandoned their farms and moved away. In 1875 the destructive ravages continued. Energetic steps were taken both by the people themselves and by the local authorities to combat the evil, but the insects appeared in such numbers that nothing of real value could be accomplished. In July, 1875, a correspondent of the Norwegian-American weekly *Fædrelandet og Emigranten* writes: "On the 9th of this month the locusts flew over New Ulm in such numbers that they darkened the sun." Some counties offered bounties for destroying locusts, paying at the rate of one dollar a bushel for insects caught. In Nicollet County it was reported in 1875 that by July 8, 17,281 bushels of locusts had been caught. In Blue Earth County 20,000 bushels had been caught up to July 10 of the same year. But even these vast amounts did not perceptibly reduce the destructive insect hosts. As a measure for protecting the crops these efforts were utterly unavailing. In 1876 the locusts extended their invasion still farther northward in Minnesota, arriving in many new districts shortly before harvest, often totally destroying the crops. On July 11 of that year it was reported from Benson: "The locusts have harried this district for three days, and have done such damage that the prospects for a harvest are poor. The destruction has been wrought throughout a district starting six miles north of Benson, and extending fifty miles southward through the counties of Swift, Chippewa, Lacquiparle, and part of Stevens."³ From other parts of the state like reports were received. An investigation conducted by the state government showed that in twelve coun-

³ *Fædrelandet og Emigranten*, July 20, 1876.

ties, in an area a hundred miles wide and two hundred miles long, the crops had been severely damaged and in some places entirely destroyed, so that the average yield per acre would not be over eight or ten bushels.

On Gjerset's farm in Big Bend there was nothing to harvest in 1876. The fields were plowed at harvest time, and preparation was made to seed as big an area as possible the next spring, in the hope that if there should be a good crop the losses sustained could be made good. But the spring of 1877 saw a new generation of hungry young locusts emerge from the ground, more numerous than that of the previous year. The green fields were soon eaten black. Everything planted was entirely destroyed. Even the grass was so eaten and corrupted that the cattle did not thrive. Again the fields had to be plowed at midsummer. When the locusts had grown to full size, they flew away, and this section of the country has never since been visited by this plague, but behind was left complete economic ruin. Most of the pioneer farmers had no reserve capital with which to operate. Once and in some places twice before, they had lost their crops. Now they were again to provide food, clothing, fuel, seed, and funds for running expenses for another year. For many the situation was very trying. So far as markets could be found, sheep and cattle were sold, even at the lowest prices, and the farms were mortgaged to obtain small loans at high rates of interest. In most cases the hopes of the pioneer farmers had been blasted, and their chance of economic success destroyed, as they were now plunged into a mire of mortgaged indebtedness from which, for a generation, they were not able to extricate themselves. Even after the locusts left, crops continued to be poor in many districts, as a new enemy, the rust, attacked the wheat, so that in many places grain farming never again yielded a profitable return. With the development of diversified farming, dairying, the planting of corn, and the raising of hogs and cattle, a new era of progress dawned for the

farmers, but many of the early pioneers did not live to enjoy the new prosperity.

Ole S. Gjerset had brought some money with him from Norway and had been able to make a good start in farming when the locust destruction came. But what capital he possessed was spent in the initial preparations, and he now had to share the economic hardships with the rest. The hope of better economic opportunities in the new world, for the realization of which he had sacrificed so much, had suddenly vanished, and life seemed to offer no better prospect than a persistent struggle against misfortune. The winter storms swept over black plowed fields which for two years had yielded nothing. Herds of cattle, which could not be sold at any price, sought shelter from the chilling blast. All charm had disappeared from pioneer farming on the prairies of the great Northwest.

From Norway Ole S. Gjerset had also brought with him to America his intellectual interests and a large chest full of books. In a bookcase on the wall he placed these precious volumes of history, geography, sagas, travels, psychology, law, medicine, religion, language, music, and mathematics, which gradually became the center both of interest and activity in the home. The greater the disappointment in farming and economic life the more completely the minds of all the children turned to these intellectual possessions, which grew ever more precious under the hardships of the pioneer environment. When the winter evenings grew dark and stormy, and nature looked cheerless and forbidding, Gjerset gathered his children around the table, wood was put on the fire, the books were taken from the shelf, and most happy hours were spent in study and conversation. Every winter evening from seven o'clock till ten, and usually also in the daytime, especially during the winter months, the home was a school, and Gjerset was a trained and inspiring teacher. A number of branches were studied: books of Christian doctrine, arith-

metic, geography, history, grammar and composition, writing, and singing. The family was organized as a choir, and when blizzards blew the songs resounded, making the evenings pleasant in the lamp-lit home. Gjerset had gathered a large collection of songs of various kinds, together with melodies, neatly written in a bound volume, and among the books of songs and music this soon became a family treasure.

Karen Marie did not attempt to instruct the children in secular branches, but was very insistent that they should learn well their books of Christian doctrine, and sometimes she would read the gospels with the younger children. The progress made by them in their studies became more and more her chief concern and seemed to inspire her with new hope. One fall when the shadows of evening were falling after a dreary October day, one of the younger boys was seated at her side learning his lessons. Suddenly she picked him up, put him in her lap, caressed him, and stroked his hair saying: "You will be a student, and you will be very successful. But you must always keep away from that which is evil. Do not let anything that is wicked and wrong ever ruin your career." Karen Marie was quiet in her demeanor and seldom gave expression to her emotions. The boy did not grasp the meaning of this rather unusual demonstration of affection, but he learned to understand it better later. It was a mother's determination to win in life's most important battle.

Experience showed that in spite of his interest in agricultural pursuits and his large plans regarding farming Gjerset continued to be, as in his early years, preëminently a student. Never was he happier than when he could seat himself at his writing table and give himself wholly to diligent and persistent intellectual work. All troubles were then forgotten, as he lived and moved with ease and freedom in the kingdom of his own mind. He had a fondness for mathematics, and prepared a textbook in geometry, which he considered chiefly

as an intellectual pastime. He also took a keen interest in the various doctrinal controversies waged among Norwegian Lutherans in America in those days. When the controversy about predestination broke out, he joined the Anti-Missourians, and wrote extensively on this deep and obscure theological question, exhibiting great skill and ability as a dialectician. When one considers the ease and skill with which he wielded his able pen, the clearness and penetration of his mind, his scope of knowledge and remarkable grasp of a wide range of subjects, one can only regret that life did not vouchsafe him the opportunity to follow a student's career, for which his talents so preeminently fitted him.

During early years there were neither schools nor churches in the newly settled regions. The children and young people growing up in the pioneer settlements, suffering from the various disadvantages of pioneer life, found little opportunity to acquire even the most rudimentary education and were in danger of becoming an intellectually stunted and ignorant generation. Owing to the economic distress caused by the locust ravages the people in the stricken districts were not able to build schools or hire teachers. Little could be done to provide the much-needed educational facilities. For years Gjerset taught school for the children of the settlement during the winter months for little or no remuneration, as he still harbored the same keen interest in public education which characterized his early career. Part of the time was devoted to religious instruction, but the ordinary school branches were also taught. In the summer he often taught Sunday school in his own home, inviting the children of the neighborhood to come on Sunday afternoon and devote the time to singing and the learning of lessons of various kinds. In his own busy life he took special delight in awakening intellectual interest among the young people, and if his efforts were successful, even in the smallest degree, he was happy and considered himself amply compensated. In church work he always took

an active part. He was one of the organizers of the Norwegian Lutheran Synod congregation in the Big Bend settlement, served temporarily by the Reverend Lars Markhus of Norway Lake, Kandiyohi County, Minnesota, until the Reverend O. E. Solseth became permanent pastor in 1873.

When he grew old he sold the farm for a small sum to his son Magnus and retired to Watson, Minnesota, where he spent his declining days with his daughter Amalia (Mrs. O. Erikson). Here he died on January 30, 1902. The funeral was conducted by his pastor, the Reverend Hjalmar S. Froiland, who began his sermon by saying: "A great man has departed from us. I knew Ole S. Gjerset well, and as he grew older my visits with him became frequent, but I never called on him to give him spiritual advice. I came to him to learn, to profit by his superior wisdom and insight." What greatness he possessed was not of wealth, power, or station in life, as he possessed none of these; it was rather of influence due to greatness of mind and strength of character.

KNUT GJERSET

LUTHER COLLEGE
DECORAH, IOWA

THE STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION AT HUTCHINSON

Several circumstances conspired to make the eighth state historical convention, held at Hutchinson and neighboring places on June 14 and 15, notably successful. The general committee, with Mr. Frederick G. Ingersoll, president of the Minnesota Historical Society, as chairman, and Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the society's museum, as secretary, planned the tour and the sessions with meticulous care, and their efforts were efficiently seconded by local committees at Hutchinson, Glencoe, Litchfield, Henderson, Silver Lake, and Forest City, of which Mr. Sam G. Anderson of Hutchinson was the coördinating chairman. Summer historical excursions from St. Paul to various parts of the state have appealed to the imagination and interest of increasing numbers of people since the inauguration of the custom seven years ago. And the press has demonstrated its awareness of the dramatic element in such exploitation of Minnesota's past. Thus among the excursionists whose cavalcade of twenty cars and one chartered bus set off for Henderson by way of Shakopee on the fair morning of June 14 were three writers representing Minneapolis and St. Paul newspapers.

A group of about 150 people greeted the historical tourists when they arrived at Henderson. Here on the courthouse grounds, where stands a monument to John Other Day, the noted "good Indian" hero of the Sioux War, the first session of the convention was held. The speaker, Mr. Verne E. Chatelain, acting assistant superintendent of the historical society, had selected the peculiarly appropriate theme of "Joseph Renshaw Brown, Pioneer," — appropriate because, as Mr. Chatelain explained, Henderson was "the child of Brown's brain." Here in 1856 Brown began publication of

the *Henderson Democrat* and here, during his three years of residence, Brown dreamed many of his bright-colored dreams for the future of the village and of the Northwest. Mr. Chatelain reviewed the career of this unusual Minnesota figure, whose "life was packed to the brim with a bewildering series of adventures." He was a gifted son of the frontier, with the "ability to do a large variety of tasks with the polish and technique of the expert." The speaker enumerated nearly a dozen "historical firsts" credit for which should go to Brown, beginning with his place as the first drummer boy of Fort Snelling and including his claim to the honor of being the first man to run a steam locomotive in the Minnesota Valley. He was characterized as the leading parliamentarian on the frontier in his time, whose legal services, albeit he was no lawyer, were greatly in demand. His outstanding distinction, however, was his knowledge of Indian affairs; the speaker emphasized the importance of his inauguration of reforms in Indian administration after his appointment as Indian agent in 1857, an office that, unfortunately, he lost in consequence of the spoils system. A monument to Brown was erected several years ago by the club women of Henderson; the town boasts one of somewhat earlier vintage, however,—his old home, erected before the Civil War, to which a visit was made after Mr. Chatelain had concluded the reading of his paper. Another early building of Henderson is the old American House, put up in 1853, when the town was the chief center west of Minneapolis and St. Paul. This survival from the ante-bellum period of Henderson history was also viewed by the tourists before their departure for Glencoe by way of Gaylord and New Auburn.

The session at Glencoe followed a luncheon in the community building attended by about 150 people. After a song by Mrs. Frank Reimer and an address of welcome by the presiding officer, Mr. Jay J. Greaves of Glencoe, Professor Charles J. Ritchey of Macalester College read a paper entitled

"Martin McLeod and the Development of the Minnesota Valley." McLeod's introduction to Minnesota occurred in 1837, when the abortive Dickson filibustering expedition broke up and several of its members attempted the journey from Pembina to Fort Snelling. In March of that year McLeod, with Pierre Bottineau, the famous guide, battled his way against a blizzard to the American Fur Company post at Lake Traverse, then in charge of Joseph R. Brown. "While at Lake Traverse and on the trip down the Minnesota River," said Professor Ritchey, "McLeod met other men with whom he was to be intimately associated as fur-trader, land speculator, and legislator: Joseph Renville, Dr. Williamson, and Gideon H. Pond at Lac qui Parle, Louis Provençalle at Traverse des Sioux, Jean Baptiste Faribault at the Little Rapids of the Minnesota River, and Henry H. Sibley and others at Mendota." The speaker gave his attention mainly to the period from about 1840 to 1855, when McLeod was a prominent fur-trader, with Lac qui Parle as his chief post. McLeod had many other irons in the fire, however. Among other things, he was a city planner: in the late thirties, for example, he and an army officer made plans for the town of "St. Peter" to be built up at the east end of the Seventh Street bridge at Fort Snelling as soon as the military reserve should be cut down. "A sketch of the town was to be lithographed at St. Louis, town lots were to be advertised, and a hotel was to be built," said Professor Ritchey. "Was this the first town plan in Minnesota?" In 1855 McLeod figured as "one of a small group that laid out the plans for Glencoe" in the county named in his honor upon its establishment a year later. In referring to the political career of McLeod, which was limited to four terms in the territorial council and membership in the constitutional convention of 1857, Professor Ritchey said that though he was not a great leader, he did not lack vision and imagination. In proof of this characterization the speaker added, "He was responsible for the changing of the name 'St. Peter's River' to

the 'Minnesota River'; substituted the name 'Hennepin County' for 'Snelling County'; asked that the university be located at St. Anthony; drafted the first education bill; strove with others to secure the location of the state agricultural college at Glencoe; and planned to establish Hamline University there also."

"Adventures of a Newspaper Man in Search of Local History Material" was the title of the next paper, read by Mr. Win V. Working of Blakeley, who said that in recent years he had written hundreds of pioneer stories for Minnesota papers. His experience had impressed him with the difficulty of ascertaining historical truth, especially in reconciling conflicting accounts of events. "I do not believe that any accurate and complete history of the Sioux Outbreak is in existence today," he said, "and certainly there is no complete and composite record that presents a true picture of pioneer life in McLeod County and adjacent areas." Mr. Working had discovered, however, that bits of information gathered here and there — items from old pioneers, newspapers, old letters, and other kinds of documents — often do fit together, like parts of a picture puzzle, and aid one in reconstructing the true sequence of past events. He gave a number of interesting illustrations of historical finds and incidentally made clear the fascination of the search for local historical records. Among numerous items to which he referred was an account book kept by a pioneer storekeeper near Glencoe. A very moist account from 1857 was cited: "2 quarts of whiskey, \$.50; 2 quarts whiskey, \$.50; 1 quart ditto, \$.25; 1 broom, \$.30; 1 quart molasses, \$.35; 1 quart whiskey, \$.25; 1 quart ditto, \$.25; 1 pint ditto, \$.15; 1¼ gallons whiskey, \$1.50; 1 quart ditto, \$.25; 1 quart ditto, \$.25."

A conference on the organization of local history work — a feature never omitted from the programs of the summer conventions — formed the concluding part of the Glencoe session. Such conferences are intended to be practical and this

one centered about a specific question: "Is McLeod County Interested in the Formation of a County Historical Society?" Opening the discussion, Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the state society, spoke of the objectives of a county historical society and pointed out that since the characteristics of a community are determined by its past, intelligent people, desiring to understand the present and to plan wisely for the future, find a knowledge of the past imperative. He spoke also of the commercial advantage that attention to local history may secure for a community through the attraction of tourists. In urging the organization of local historical societies, he said that they should include "not only the old settlers, but also the vigorous and active men and women who appreciate the civic, cultural, and practical values of the cultivation of community memory." Local history organization has progressed rapidly in Minnesota in recent years. Though it is only seven years since the St. Louis County Historical Society, the first of the crop of societies of this kind in the state, was organized, the speaker said that there are now "some seventeen county historical societies in the state, scattered from Roseau to Martin County; others are in process of formation; in five or six counties local historical work of value is being done through museums connected with high schools or libraries; and occasionally, as in Kandiyohi and Meeker counties, old settlers associations are functioning to some extent as historical societies." He closed by emphasizing three requisites for successful local history work: one person willing to shoulder the responsibility of keeping the work going; a continuous program of constructive work; and coöperation with the state society.

Mrs. Sophie P. White of Hutchinson sounded a note of warning against mere formality in connection with historical activity, that is, against organization followed by inactivity. She suggested that the various communities should start real work without delay, probe into many aspects of their begin-

nings and their history, and ultimately federate in a county organization. Mr. L. C. Simon of St. Paul then spoke briefly, emphasizing the stimulation of love of locality and state through the promotion of historical understanding. The chairman, Mr. Greaves, called attention to the pioneer interest in public affairs, a subject fruitful, he thought, both for study and emulation. Mr. Spurgeon S. Beach of Hutchinson considered the time ripe for the organization of a county society. The local society in Hutchinson, long moribund, had been revived some two months ago, he said, and now had sixty-three members.¹ The thing needed in local history organization, he added, was initiative, "some one to start it off." On this philosophic note the conference came to a close.

The tour was continued to Hutchinson by way of Brownton, where a brief inspection was made of the site of a Sioux War stockade and the scene of an atrocity of the uprising. At Hutchinson a session was held in the evening at the city hall, with an address of welcome by Mayor H. A. Dobratz as the initial number on the program. In the course of his remarks he mentioned some of the local episodes of the Sioux War, an historical event naturally occupying a large place in the historical consciousness of the people of the Hutchinson region, and he called special attention to a marker erected in 1905 on the site of the stockade built in 1862 when the Sioux were on the warpath. Here Little Crow's warriors attacked and were repulsed on September 4 of that year. The principal address of the convention was then delivered, on the subject "When America Was the Land of Canaan," by Dr. George M. Stephenson, associate professor of history at the University of Minnesota. This interesting historical study, which is published in full in the present number of MINNESOTA HISTORY, is based upon materials collected by Dr. Stephenson in 1927 and 1928 in Sweden, while engaged in studying

¹ The *Hutchinson Leader* announced on May 3 that this society had collected a fund of \$171 for the erection of historic markers.

the backgrounds of Swedish immigration to the United States as a fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation of New York. Dr. Stephenson's paper ended the formal program for the day, but many visitors found time after the session to examine a series of special historical exhibits on display in Hutchinson store windows. These exhibits were rather unusual in that they included, besides the ordinary museum pieces — costumes, old weapons, hand-spun and woven linens, and the like — a good deal of manuscript material and some old newspapers.

The second and final day of the convention, June 15, was crowded with tours and sessions, beginning with an automobile procession, with thirty-six cars in line, from Hutchinson to Forest City. Before leaving Hutchinson a stop was made at the Pendergast School and Mr. H. L. Merrill told of the burning of the old school by the Indians in 1862, an event commemorated by a marker recently erected by the Hutchinson Historical Society. As the journey to Forest City was continued, numerous historical markers and monuments were observed, including one in Ellsworth Township, Meeker County, indicating the spot where Little Crow was killed on July 3, 1863. Mr. F. M. March of Litchfield presented interesting facts about this and other sites examined in the vicinity. Stops were made at several places noteworthy as scenes of occurrences of the Sioux War, at some of which temporary markers had been put up. The victims of the Acton murders, which precipitated the Sioux War, are buried in the Ness Cemetery, where a stop was made to view a monument erected by the state in 1878. Farther on the Acton monument, put up by the state in 1909, was viewed. Mr. A. H. DeLong of Litchfield, who served as a scout in 1862, gave a brief account of the bloody events thus commemorated. The last stop of the morning was at Forest City, where a marker has been erected on the site of a Sioux War stockade. Here Mrs. Peter Rodange, regent of the Mollie Stark Branham chapter

of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Litchfield and the daughter of a settler who served as a scout in the Sioux War, read a paper on "Settlers and Sioux: The Story of the Acton-Forest City Battle." The march of a detachment under Captain Richard Strout from Minneapolis to Glencoe and back to Acton, the retreat of a group of settlers under Captain George C. Whitcomb to Forest City, the story of the wild night ride of three men from Forest City to warn Strout of the imminence of an Indian attack, the "battle of Acton," ending with the withdrawal of Strout's force to Hutchinson — these were among the subjects that Mrs. Rodange embodied in her spirited paper. Several survivors of the old Forest City stockade were introduced to the audience after the conclusion of Mrs. Rodange's account.

The tour was then continued to Litchfield, where at the Lenhardt Hotel the visitors were presented with flowers by members of the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and at about 1:00 P.M. a complimentary luncheon, lavish enough to be called a dinner, was served by the people of the city. The afternoon session, held in the local Opera House, was opened by a cordial address of welcome by Mayor Determan, after which Mrs. Frank E. Lawrence of Greenleaf sang two songs. The presiding officer, Mr. F. M. March of Litchfield, echoing the welcome of the mayor, expressed the hope that the convention would leave lasting influences in the community. It had already led the people of the town to erect several temporary markers; it meant, he believed, the beginning of a deeper interest in Minnesota history. Before the formal papers of the session were read there was a brief discussion of the problem of local history organization, led by the convention manager, Mr. Babcock. He sketched the recent growth of local historical interest in Minnesota, told of the society's series of summer tours and conventions, and closed by expressing the hope that Meeker County, which already has an actively functioning pioneer

society, would take up vigorously the work of marking sites and collecting and preserving historical materials. Mr. Charles Stees of St. Paul, a member of the state society's executive council, then expressed the society's appreciation of the cordiality with which the people of Litchfield had entertained the convention and urged them to enlist the active participation of the younger generation in local historical work. Mr. March, responding, asserted that there was a keen local realization of the need of collecting historical materials before the pioneer generation had entirely disappeared and predicted a sustained local interest. "The next time you come here," he said, "you will find bronze markers in place of the temporary wooden ones that we have erected."

The first regular paper of the session was a sketch of "The Early History of Meeker County" by Mr. H. I. Peterson, editor of the *Litchfield Independent*. He told of the coming of settlers in 1855 in two groups, one consisting of three men who poled and paddled up the north fork of the Crow River to the open prairie a short distance west of the site of the present village of Forest City, where they wintered; the other, of two men who came up from the south, probably over the Henderson trail, and took claims on the north shore of Cedar Lake. One of the latter, Dr. Frederick N. Ripley, lost his life the next spring in a terrible blizzard and was buried beside the lake that bears his name. In 1856 settlers began to pour into the region; the county was organized under an act of that year; and Forest City was selected as the county seat, an honor it had to relinquish to Litchfield twelve years later. "The first settlers," said Mr. Peterson, "were made up partly of Yankees from the eastern states, some Kentuckians and Virginians who located in the timber, Irish from Pennsylvania and Illinois, Norwegians from Wisconsin, with some Germans, Canadians, and Swedes." The speaker touched on the effect of the panic of 1857, told of the United States land office established at Forest City in 1858, and alluded to the

scare that followed the uprising of the Sioux, which, he said, "drove more than half the inhabitants from the county. Live stock, homes, and household goods were abandoned by a great many families, and some never came back." Not until 1866 was the land office reestablished; it was then placed, not at Forest City, but in Greenleaf, where it remained until its removal three years later to Litchfield.

"The Big Woods Country" — "land of mystery, shadows, and winding trails that had no ending" — was the theme of the last paper of the session, given by Mr. Arthur J. Larsen, newspaper assistant of the Minnesota Historical Society. After defining the geographical extent of the area and telling of the Nicollet exploring expedition, Mr. Larsen called attention to the "quietness and rapidity" with which the Big Woods area was developed: "In 1849 the country was almost unknown. In 1851 the 'Suland' was purchased from the Indians. In 1852 some steps toward settlement had already been taken. By 1855 the country was fast losing the characteristics of a frontier." After speaking of the panic of 1857 and the second panic five years later, Mr. Larsen said of the pioneers who had the grit to "start over" again: "Theirs was the legacy of the Big Woods, which had withstood time and storm and the careless savages for centuries to go down before the new order and make for Minnesota one of her garden spots — on the stumps of the Big Woods." After this paper had been read, the presiding officer told of a number of historical sites in the county that had not been included in the day's sight-seeing. The session was then adjourned and the visitors, before returning to Hutchinson, were given an opportunity to examine an interesting display of historical objects in the Litchfield public library.

The final session, held that evening in the Masonic Temple at Hutchinson, was preceded by a banquet, after which a group of songs was sung by Mr. Oliver D. Hutchinson of Minneapolis. "A Few Remembrances of Hutchinson" was the title

of the first paper of the session, presented by Mr. H. L. Merrill, former superintendent of the local schools.² The town was founded by New Englanders as a result of the decision of three brothers, Asa, John, and Judson Hutchinson, to go on a concert trip to the West. Their original purpose was to sing their way to Kansas and there found a town that would be a center for antislavery sentiment, but they were diverted from this purpose by reports received at Milwaukee from W. W. Pendergast, like them a native of New Hampshire, who had just returned from a trip to Minnesota and strongly advised them to found their town in that territory. They went north and on November 16, 1855, a party of ten men, including the musical trio, left Minneapolis to examine the country west of the Big Woods and specifically to select the site of Hutchinson. This purpose accomplished, a town-site company was formed, officers were chosen, and a committee was appointed to draw up papers of incorporation. After relating these beginnings Mr. Merrill gave accounts of the survey of the site, the building of a road from Watertown to Hutchinson, the beginnings of settlement in 1856, the coming of Germans in 1857, and numerous other aspects of the history of the community before the Sioux War.

The last paper of the convention was on "Early Steamboating on the Minnesota River" by Mr. William J Petersen of the University of Iowa, whose article on "The 'Virginia,' the 'Clermont' of the Upper Mississippi" was published in the December, 1928, issue of MINNESOTA HISTORY. The earliest Minnesota River steamboat trip chronicled is that of the "Rufus Putnam" in 1825, according to Mr. Petersen. It

² This paper is published in full in the *Hutchinson Leader* for June 28. It should be noted that as a part of its preliminary convention publicity the *Leader* brought out three articles in its issue for April 26 on steamboat navigation on the Minnesota River in the fifties, the activities of a McLeod County immigration committee appointed in 1867 to encourage settlement, and the coming of the first settler to Acoma Township.

carried supplies for the Columbia Fur Company at Land's End, above Fort Snelling. In 1836 the "Palmyra," with a party of excursionists, poked its nose up the Minnesota three miles. Excursions in 1850 by the "Anthony Wayne," the "Nominee," and the "Yankee" did much to arouse the interest of American land-seekers in Minnesota. The longest trip of that year was made by the "Yankee," which reached a point a few miles above Judson in Blue Earth County. After thus sketching its beginnings, Mr. Petersen discussed the development of the traffic and its importance in the economic history of Minnesota. His paper will be published in full in a later number of this magazine.

Before the convention adjourned Dr. Buck complimented the people of Hutchinson on the valuable collection of historical objects put on display for the convention and suggested that they should be brought together in a permanent local museum. It is understood that Mrs. White has since compiled a complete list of the objects in the exhibition. Mr. Sam G. Anderson, chairman of the local committees, followed Dr. Buck, speaking impromptu of some aspects of the transportation history of Hutchinson.

During the session the committee on resolutions, consisting of Mrs. Winifred Murray Milne of St. Paul, Mr. P. P. Quist of Minneapolis, and Mr. Chatelain, presented the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

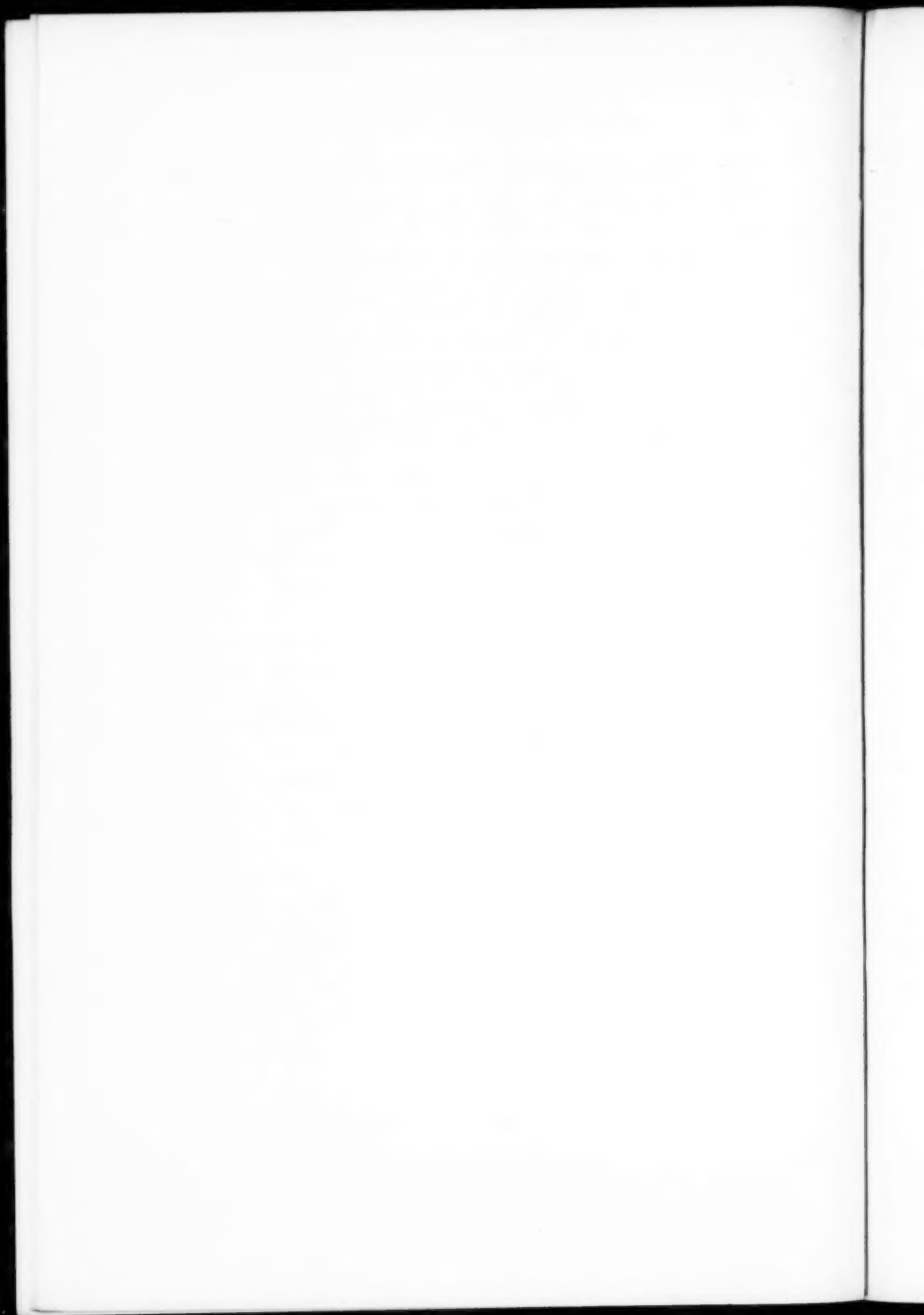
WHEREAS, The eighth annual convention of the Minnesota Historical Society is now about to adjourn after a delightful tour through the counties of Carver, Sibley, McLeod, and Meeker, a part of the Big Woods country of Minnesota, visiting points of unusual interest in the history of early settlement, town-site speculation, transportation, and the Sioux War; and

WHEREAS, The good people of this region, individually and through their district committees on arrangements, more especially the splendid group at Hutchinson, hosts to this convention, and the efficient American Legion post at Henderson, as well as the tireless committees at Glencoe, Brownton, Litchfield, Acton, Forest City, and elsewhere, have contributed through their efforts, hospi-

talities, money, and time to make this convention one of extreme value and pleasure; and

WHEREAS, Those who have expended much labor in preparing the excellent papers and talks that have been presented to this body and the general state-wide committee through its chairman, Mr. Ingersoll, and its genial secretary, Mr. Babcock, who has also served as general manager of the convention and tour, have all performed their important and varied tasks with signal distinction;

BE IT RESOLVED by the Minnesota Historical Society, its members and friends in convention assembled, that we extend our heartiest congratulations to those who have made possible all these enjoyable and noteworthy contributions and that we express our sincere appreciation of the numerous courtesies and services extended to us.



MINNESOTA AS SEEN BY TRAVELERS

A DANISH VISITOR OF THE SEVENTIES. II

- Two chapters of Robert Watt's narrative of travel in America entitled *Fra det fjerne vesten*, in which he describes certain portions of eastern Minnesota, appeared in the June issue of MINNESOTA HISTORY (see *ante*, p. 157-173). Another chapter, in which the Danish traveler tells of a journey from St. Paul to the western boundary of the state at the Red River over the newly completed St. Paul and Pacific Railroad, is herewith presented. A short sketch of Watt's career and a statement about the editorial policy followed in translating and editing this account are to be found *ante*, p. 155-157.

JACOB HODNEFIELD

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ST. PAUL

[Robert Watt, *Fra det fjerne vesten. Skildringer fra Amerika*, 233-259 (Copenhagen, 1872) — Translation]

XIX ON THE WESTERN PRAIRIES

Atwater, *St. Paul & Pacific* Railroad.

When I arrived in St. Paul it was not my intention to go farther west in this part of the country; but circumstances, which always play such a large part on a journey, determined that I should travel half a hundred Danish miles farther on to the boundary of Dakota. This territory, which is inhabited by large groups of the aborigines, is yet little known and visited by the whites. Here for a long time life will be peculiarly interesting to the traveler, for conditions are such that in all probability many years will pass before these prairies are incorporated into the number of the united states, thereby adding another star to those which already sparkle in the striped banner.

The first division of the so-called *St. Paul and Pacific Rail Road* has been completed — that is the railroad between St. Paul and

Breckenridge, a point on the western boundary of Minnesota — and the Mississippi is thereby joined by the *Red River (of the North)*, which flows through the Hudson Bay territory. The new chapter in Minnesota's history that the construction of this railroad initiates will prove to be of greatest importance.

"The Red River," which formerly seemed so distant and which could be reached only by long and tedious journeys through thick woods and across endless prairies, has been brought near, and a considerable part of the traffic which formerly went by other routes will now go to St. Paul and from there goods will be shipped either down the Mississippi River or else by rail. The caravans of oxcarts, which formerly, after a journey of several hundred miles, finally halted at Minnesota's capital to enable the fur-traders to dispose of their wares, will no longer be seen. Buffalo, otter, beaver, and muskrat hides will be loaded on cars at the *Red River* or at ends of the branches of this railroad, and thus in a short time towns that will grow with great rapidity will spring up in these places.

Hand in hand with the building of railroads goes the settlement and cultivation of the land; and the value of land increases because the settlers will have convenient markets where they may dispose of their products. As stated before, the government encourages such enterprises by every means. You may even hear the benediction pronounced from the pulpit upon the means by which civilization is enabled to advance so rapidly. Each railroad company is given a certain number of acres of land by the state in proportion to the number of miles of road that are built; and, as a result, each company must establish a so-called land office, which is engaged in selling the ceded tracts and which lays out towns, surveys roads, and builds houses for immigrants along the lines. Besides the tracts thus placed on the market, the government offers land to immigrants through its own officers. Under the *Homestead* law the government gives gratis to each settler surveyed land to the value of two hundred dollars — either 160 acres valued at a dollar and a quarter an acre or 80 acres valued at two and a half dollars — in return for which the homesteader is obliged, when he has selected a piece, to pay certain fees to the

local government office and thereafter live on the land for five years. When he has met these conditions and proves it at the aforesaid office, he receives a patent to the land and can do with it what he pleases. Or, under the so-called *Preemption* law, he can select a piece of land and immediately pay the government the very low price asked.

A great many Scandinavians have taken advantage of these facilities for the acquisition of land in Minnesota either from the government or from the railway offices, so that there are now so many of our northern countrymen in the state that they constitute about one-fifth of the population. Their numbers give them an importance in political and other affairs that it is not easy for them to attain elsewhere. I had reason, therefore, to expect to meet many of these Scandinavian pioneers on my journey to the *Red River*. I undertook the trip upon the invitation of General Geo. L. Becker, the president of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad. I had brought a letter of recommendation for him from home; and when he realized that I wished, as far as possible, to see the most interesting parts of the United States, he proposed that I use an opportunity to see the opening of the *Red River* railroad, which was to be celebrated some days later by all the pioneers who had been in Minnesota before 1850, that is before there was a single mile of railroad constructed in the state or the near-by region.¹

¹ In September, 1871, Becker made plans to open the first division of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad with an "excursion party made up of the members of the Old Settlers' Association only, with their good wives." Only those pioneers who had settled in Minnesota before January 1, 1850, were eligible to membership in this association, which was incorporated in 1857. The Red River excursion took place on October 25 and 26, 1871. See *A Sketch of the Organization, Objects, and Membership of the Old Settlers' Association of Minnesota; together with an Account of Its Excursion to the Red River of the North*, 3, 17 (St. Paul, 1872). This pamphlet was printed by the association, and members who had participated in the excursion were later assessed one dollar each to cover the expense of publishing and mailing this account, according to a circular letter dated August 15, 1872, among the papers of the association in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

By immediately entering upon the journey I could inspect the land between the terminals of the railroad, and then later I could make connections with the first train carrying the old adventurers who had fought the Indians and tramped about the country before there was a single house in many places where there are now large cities. Mr. John Svensson, an experienced and genial man from Skaane, became my traveling companion.² He had spent a score of years in America and had secured a position in the mixed lot of Danish, Dutch, Hanoverian, and American officials who were employed by the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad.

The fall of the year is considered the most delightful of the seasons in Minnesota, and our trip toward the distant Dakota Territory began on a crisp and clear autumn morning. According to arrangement we were to go by the help of steam for some distance away from St. Paulean civilization. The first division of the railroad had been in use several months, and, when the train started, the coaches were full of settlers and their wives, long-bearded *Lumbermen*, immigrants, children, and hunters carrying guns. As a matter of fact Minnesota is famous for the quantity of its game, and a person does not have to be a particularly good shot in order to bring home ample returns from a hunting expedition. The state is overrun with *Sportsmen* from other parts of America during the entire season. Every other young man who lives in Minnesota has a gun. As an example of how remunerative it is to wander out to one of the many lakes, a settler, who did not at all pretend to be a hunter, told me that during one forenoon alone he had shot forty-two blue-winged teal. In season whole cars full of game are shipped to other states; and the families that live here find it much cheaper to have pheasant,

² Watt's companion seems to have been John Swainson, a Swedish immigrant who, according to O. N. Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians and Successful Scandinavians in the United States*, 1:607 (Minneapolis, 1893), "was employed as general land agent for the Great Northern R. R." from 1871 to 1876. During this period the St. Paul and Pacific was absorbed by the Great Northern. In the *St. Paul Directory* for 1874 and 1875 Swainson is listed as agent for the land department of the first division of the St. Paul and Pacific. According to the same source during this period he was publishing a Swedish newspaper, *Svenska Nybyggaren*, at St. Paul.

prairie chicken, wild duck, or venison on the table than to buy meat at the butcher shop.

But if Minnesota is famous for its game, it is not less so for its lakes. The entire area is literally sown with these beautiful sky-blue bodies of water; and for that reason the whites gave to the entire state the name that the Dakota Indians had given to the sky-colored river that flows through the country. It is estimated that there are approximately ten thousand lakes in Minnesota. They are of all sizes, from five hundred yards to two or three miles in length. The water in all of them has a wonderful clearness; they all teem with fish; and about most of them are small compact groves of oak, elm, ash, and maple.

At the station of Wayzata we came to one of the most beautiful of the lakes. The Indian name Minnetonka,* which means "Great Water," is retained. This lake is somewhat larger than others near by, of which we already had passed several on our way out and which were to be seen among the trees or in smiling meadows where the hay had been cut and set up in large stacks. Minnetonka, which is three [*Danish*] miles long and of a corresponding width, has many bays; and the shores are picturesque, as occasionally they rise proudly to rocky hills overgrown with ancient trees or merge gently into meadows. The lake is full of fish, and the neighboring woods shelter droves of game. It is therefore no wonder that Minnetonka is visited yearly by hundreds of travelers who camp about its shores or lodge at the hotels that have been erected. Numerous sailboats and a couple of steamboats rode on the water near the railroad when we stopped. Then we proceeded on our way through the Big Woods—a belt of timber that extends for a considerable distance north-westward and must be traversed before one comes in sight of the prairies. From this woody region the entire western country is supplied with timber, and the trees grow so close together that the cutting that has been done does not seem to have made any impression. In olden days, that is a few years ago, it took three

* In the language of the Dakota or Sioux Indians, *Minne* means water; from that comes, as has been said, Minnesota or sky-tinted water, *Minne-ha-ha* or laughing water, and *Minne-inne-opa* or singing water. [*Author's note.*]

days to traverse these great woods, but now one rushes through in a couple of hours. The wealth of the pioneers on the other side has suddenly doubled, as they now save both time and labor when they wish to bring their products to market.

Several of these pioneers were on their way to their homes in the neighborhood of the many small towns that have sprung up along the railroad during the last two years. I entered into conversation with one of them and soon discovered that he was a Dane. He was a young farmer boy from Lolland who had selected eighty acres of land and built a log cabin on the prairies. He could not yet afford to keep horses, but he had a pair of good oxen and with these he could do temporarily the necessary work. He plowed his ground in the fall and then let it lie covered with snow during the winter until he could put in the seed. During the winter he hauled lumber from the Big Woods with his oxen (those faithful companions of the first pioneers) until he gradually had his land fenced with it. He was especially pleased with life in *The far west* and stated that his father, sixty years old, was soon coming to join him. Of course it had been somewhat lonesome at first, but soon neighbors had come into the region, and now there were in the vicinity where he had settled a Swedish, a Norwegian, and a Danish colony. Together they supported a pastor, a Norwegian named Dahl, who preached to them and instructed the children.

"You ought to get married," I suggested. "Then you would find it less lonesome during the long winter season and you would get along better generally."

"I am going to do just that," said Henrik and smiled shyly. "The girl is in the other coach. Come in and take a look at her."

I accepted his invitation, but was uncertain at first as to who his Else might be until he sat down beside an attractive Norwegian girl, a real sturdy northern beauty with blue eyes and yellow hair.

"Where did you get her?" I inquired.

"I captured her on the prairies," he laughed.

"She was not running loose out there?"

"No, I have been traveling about for two months in order to

find a wife," he explained, "and I think I have been lucky. I took work on various farms; and it would be strange if a man should return unsuccessful if he purposefully set out upon such an errand."

"Now, have you a good house for her?" I inquired.

"Not exactly. I am going to build another next winter, but she can stay with some friends of mine in the neighborhood. Moreover, we are not married as yet, but that may happen at any time," he replied. Thereupon he told me about his pioneer life and that of others, and continued the conversation until we had emerged from the woods and were gliding across the prairies.

The young couple alighted with us at Litchfield, — a little town of eighty houses, including churches, schools, and stores, occupying ground from which wheat was harvested in 1869 — Henrik to inquire if there were any of his neighbors in town with wagons, and we to engage a conveyance that could give us a flying trip across the prairies until we again crossed the railway farther west. We had passed many villages and stopping places before we had come thus far, and everywhere it was possible to discern the increasing life that the railroad had made possible. Oxcarts hauled the grain to the warehouses, where it was loaded on cars; houses were erected here and there; and the plow furrowed the grateful earth in whichever direction one turned to look. We were successful in getting a light wagon, which my well-oriented companion hired for a period of two days. While the horses were being hitched we wandered about among the houses and spoke to several of the inhabitants, who, of course, were all of the opinion that Litchfield some day would become a glorious city. Among others we met a company of young Norwegians and Swedes who, with guns on shoulders and accompanied by a leash of hounds, were on the point of starting for the timber belt that stretches across country and here approaches a settlement.

A little four-wheeled vehicle with springs, drawn by two horses, drove forth at three o'clock in the afternoon. The driver, who was enthroned on the front seat, had donned a buffalo fur coat as a protection against the approaching cold of the evening; after we had taken our places behind him, he swung in on a road leading

in a southerly direction and we said good-by to Litchfield. The land we passed appeared to be especially well fitted for cultivation. Most of it is prairie land consisting of a black, rich mould. Here and there are small groups of trees, and the entire region is well watered by a great number of streams and small lakes. On the latter the wild ducks swarmed, and prairie chickens were continually flying up about us, so that a hunter's fingers surely must have itched had he been in the buggy with us. We passed many pioneer cabins—small frame buildings with a door and a couple of windows, the stable at the side dug half way into the ground and covered with hay. If the oxen were not hitched to the plow they would be grazing close to the little house, where also a couple of pigs and chickens would be disporting themselves. We spoke to several of the settlers and were so certain of finding people from the northern countries that we confidently opened the conversation in "Scandinavian," and we were not disappointed. One of the veterans among the pioneers in Minnesota, the Norwegian Ole Næss, lives in these parts.³ He is well known to Americans as well as to Scandinavians and is considered one of the most well-to-do of the farmers in the state. Everywhere there were cultivated fields, occasionally about a hundred acres of plowed land in one piece.

When we had driven some distance from Litchfield we passed Henrik and his prospective bride. He had not found a conveyance in Litchfield going in his direction, and now the two were walking arm in arm across the prairie. Before night they would arrive at a house where they would find shelter. They were smiling and looked happy as we wished them good luck. Late in the afternoon we reached *Swede Grove*, as the Americans call the place;⁴ and so Swedish was the life in the collection of houses that were located about the prospective town that, even here in the midst of the great western prairies, we were treated to Swedish punch.

³ This was Ole Halverson Ness, a Meeker County pioneer who settled near Litchfield in 1856. Nelson, *Scandinavians*, 1:515.

⁴ A post office known as Swede Grove was established in 1864 within the limits of the present township of the same name in Meeker County. Warren Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, 340 (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 17).

Moreover, the place has acquired renown because the Indian carnage of 1862 began at the place of some farmers a short distance away [at Acton]. Our northern brethren in large numbers were among the first over whom the wild enemies swung their scalping knives.

Darkness began to fall and shadows lay across the endless billowy lines of land that we saw about us. The trees were now entirely gone, but here and there the silhouette of a pioneer cabin was traced on the evening sky. The houses stood like lonesome sentinels awaiting the great army of immigrants that was soon to follow. Everything was hushed and still. Neither birds nor animals emitted any sound nor made themselves visible. All nature had gone to slumber. And the only thing that moved on the immense expanse, like an ocean suddenly hardened and spread out under the starry sky, was our little vehicle, which rode the long, dun waves of the earth and advanced toward some points of light in the distance. When we reached these we were in the town of Atwater, a station on the *Red River* railroad, which here passes through one of the most fertile and picturesque parts of the state.

We put up for the night at a real prairie hotel; and, after we had partaken of a repast of pork in company with the citizen who had driven our wagon, we made a mutual promise to be up early the next morning and fell into sound sleep undisturbed by the din that greets a traveler in a city.

After staying for the night at the aforesaid settlement we took up our journey again and set our course in a southerly direction toward a chain of lakes known collectively as the Kandiyohi lakes, which means "buffalo fish lakes" in Sioux. The region is known throughout Minnesota for its beautiful lakes as well as for the productive land that surrounds them. My companion had been on their shores sixteen years before when on a tour of exploration with a score of other pioneers, and he had not seen them since. He was untiring in his description of these beautiful mirrors of water as he had seen them then, partly surrounded by oak and maple trees. During the season of the year when he had made his visit the rolling prairies had appeared in all their splendor, with yard-high, light green grass in which millions of varie-

gated flowers — among which the wild rose was conspicuous — were woven into the pattern, as it were, of a magnificent thick carpet. The place had appealed to the travelers so much that they had determined to build a town there. Others had taken up the idea, and twice a plan to remove the capital of Minnesota to Kandiyohi had been laid before the governor for his signature.⁵ No consideration was taken of the fact that there was not a house there. Something similar had happened in Wisconsin, and for that reason the capital of that state is located in such an exceptionally beautiful place.

It was too late in the season for me to see this smiling aspect of the prairies. Here and there a fire had burned off the grass, so that for miles one saw nothing but the black waves. In other places the withered grass remained. But the impression of luxuriousness that a prairie gives in summer, I did not get. I had to be content with admiring in general the grandiose in nature. And this billowy expanse appeared immensely large to me. Not a tree, not a house, not a living creature could be seen for hours sometimes; and thus the prairies extend to the very boundaries of Minnesota and farther through the large territories of Dakota, Montana, and Idaho, until (to preserve the figure) the waves break on the great Rocky Mountains in the Far West.

A heavy fog came on when we had been out several hours and, in order that our experiences might be as all inclusive as possible on this tour across the prairies, we lost our way several times and headed in wrong directions. When this happened we had to hunt for a house, and when we found one we could be certain of finding a Northman either in the immediate vicinity or engaged in plowing his field, while his wife was busy about the house. The information we received was not always of the most intelligent kind. Most of the farmers seemed to know the road only to the nearest station, where they had taken their grain. We criss-crossed on wet meadows, through swampy holes, or crawled about the high

⁵ In 1861 a bill for the removal of the capital to Kandiyohi County was passed by the House but was defeated in the Senate; a similar bill was passed by both houses in 1869 but was vetoed by the governor. William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 3:9 (St. Paul, 1926).

places for several hours before we knew our whereabouts. In one place we followed a road and came near to driving directly into a lake. It was apparent that a farmer had hauled water from the place; consequently he should be in the neighborhood. We hunted and found his house, surrounded by trees and lying in paradisaical peace on a little elevation between two beautiful lakes. He knew that one of the lakes was Lake Elizabeth and that the other was called Lake Ella, but that was about all we got out of the old Swede, who had come from the northern part of the country of his birth and settled in this wonderfully beautiful place. In the meantime the fog had lifted and we drove through a little belt of timber surrounding the first of the above-mentioned lakes. On its mirrored surface the wild ducks were swimming by the thousands. Two large imperial eagles (or, perhaps more properly, Republican eagles, considering the country we were in) flew over our heads, and the driver pointed to them with pride as he exclaimed: "Behold the American eagle!" Round about the lake could be seen the well-built hemispherical habitations of the muskrats, and only a short distance away a flock of wild geese with their glistening black heads rose and flew out across the water. We were among the original inhabitants of the place, and it required but a pair of Indians among the bushes and wild rice to make the picture complete.

The two above-named lakes belonged to the Kandiyohi group, and a little farther on we came to *Lake Katoga* and *Lake Minnetaga*, and then to Little Kandiyohi. My companions now recognized the country, and after having, for the sake of safety, made inquiries from a couple of farmers whom we met concerning directions, we came upon a sort of road across the seared prairies and proceeded on our way toward the northwest and the station of Willmar. This station is situated on the railroad and is surrounded by a considerable number of newly erected frame houses arranged for hotels and stores. The pioneer cabins became more numerous as we turned away from the Kandiyohi lakes. A person would have had difficulty in finding land more luxurious for cultivation or farmsteads more delightfully situated than these, located as they were in open places and among clusters of trees rimming

bowl-like lakes. If the capital of Minnesota actually should be located among the Kandiyohi lakes in future years, it would undoubtedly, as far as situation is concerned, be able to compare favorably with any in the world. In spite of the fact that the season was well advanced and that consequently the green foliage of the trees, the luxurious grass, and the bloom of flowers were lacking, the region presented an aspect of striking beauty.

We did not reach Willmar until evening, although we had seen it for a long time, but it is as hard to calculate distance on the prairies as it is on the ocean. This town, which is situated on *Foot Lake*, a smiling little body of water, is exactly halfway between St. Paul and the *Red River*. Everything considered, it doubtless will be of much consequence some time, as it has a large back country in the region of the upper Minnesota River, where the settlements of *Yellow Medicine* and *Redwood Falls*, noted as the sites of Indian battles, are located. We now bade farewell to our driver and his nigh-exhausted horses. The steam horse, hitched to the old settlers' train, snorted in the distance, and soon we were seated in a coach among the guests who had been invited to the approaching opening celebration of the railroad. The train went on to a station farther west [*Morris*] the same evening. There we halted, and we had to sleep where we sat as best we could until the next morning, when the journey was resumed.

Two days previously a train had gone up to the *Red River* with the last rails; and only because our course lay across entirely level prairies was it possible to complete the road in time. An immense plain extended on both sides of us, and for a score of miles not the least change was evident. Everywhere the soil is suitable for cultivation, and neither stones nor stumps would hinder the pioneer from immediately starting to plow, after providing lumber for a house from the distant river courses. We passed several trains of oxcarts covered with oilcloth and filled with the earthly possessions of immigrant families. The people walked at the sides of the vehicles, which labored slowly forward. We were met also by caravans from the northern districts of the *Red River*. These consisted of hunters who were bringing their supplies of furs down to St. Paul; for their great benefactor, the railroad, had

not yet come into full operation in these parts. Only one ox was hitched to each cart with a harness like that of a horse, and the vehicles were peculiar in the absence of metal. Even the wheels were held together by straps cut from buffalo hides. These hardy and contented people may take weeks and even months for their journey, but they take their guns along and increase their stock in trade en route. In the case of larger caravans there is generally a priest in the company, as most of these people — French-Canadians or half-breeds — are Catholics. A number of them are of half Indian and half Scotch descent and come from Selkirk's colony in the Hudson Bay territory. Their language is a sort of corrupt French. It was an extraordinary spectacle that these long lines of clumsy carts presented, and we were all agreed that the bearded fur-hunters who followed them constituted the most unique thing we had seen in these parts. But presently we discovered something white moving on the horizon, and the cry "Sioux Indians!" reverberated through the coaches.

They were in reality Sioux Indians. They came with waving blankets and furs at full speed across the prairie. We slowed down, and when we came to a stand they came very close. Their small hairy ponies did not appear able to endure many hardships, but they gallop about day in and day out with burdens that are far from light, and all the food they get is a whisk of prairie grass. The red warriors were not painted and the eagle feathers denoting their bloody deeds did not project from their coal black hair; hence they were not on the warpath. Guns hung indeed over their shoulders and scalping knives were visible, but the fact that *Squaws* accompanied them indicated that they were out on some hunting expedition. Some were of the opinion that they had come from the Missouri River, from the Indian "Reservation" at that place; others that they were from Dakota on the other side of the *Red River* and that possibly they had come to see the train — the herald of the fact that trouble had reached their borders. If this were the cause of their gathering on the prairie there was no indication of the fact; there was nothing in their appearance to suggest that they had any part in what was going on. They sat as motionless as bronze statues on their

unsaddled horses until the fire wagon was set in motion. It is Indian custom, of course, never to betray any sign of surprise or pain. Not even the greatest bodily pain is supposed to change the expression of an Indian's face. When the day is over and they gather about the fire, what they have seen doubtless will become the subject of discussion and then they will in all probability, like Minnesota's first pioneers in the coaches, recall the bloody wars in which they at one time took part.

As stated, the sight of these Indians gave rise to reminiscences of the Indian wars among my traveling companions; and that was no wonder, as among them were General Sibley, ex-Governor Marshall, Senator Ramsey, and a hundred others who themselves had taken part in the shocking conflict between the whites and the reds. Immediately following this encounter I learned many interesting details of this sad part of Minnesota's history. A young man who happened to be among these veterans and who had served in a corps of volunteers in 1862-63 even invited me, when I should return to St. Paul, to come and see an Indian scalp which he himself had cut off.

"I do not keep it in my house, however," he said. "My wife could not stand the thought of it. I could not treat a dead Indian that way now either. But at that time, when we had in mind the revolting deeds perpetrated by this race and when we ourselves daily were in danger of being killed by their bullets and knives, we looked upon the fight against them as a hunt for a certain scarce game, and we had no conscience in regard to them. I killed this Indian after he and two others in cold blood had shot their arrows through a little ten-year-old Norwegian boy and were making ready to cut off his head. I arrived betimes with some companions and we pursued them. Two of the bloody dogs escaped by jumping into the river and swimming under some water lilies, but I hit my man, and, with the body of the little boy before me, I pulled my knife and scalped him. When you see the scalp you will notice that one of the ears is lacking. It was on, but a friend of mine cut it off for a souvenir. He lost it finally, however, at New Ulm after we had surprised an Indian camp and captured several of the worst ones, including

'Cut Nose.' Our prisoners, linked together, were squatting before a nearly extinguished fire. 'Will you have a piece of tobacco?' he asked the aforesaid chief. 'Ho! Ho!' was the affirmative reply. My friend handed him the severed ear. Quick as lightning 'Cut Nose' rose and struck the man down with his chain, whereupon he threw what had been handed him on the coals."

I expressed the opinion that it would not have surprised me if the Indians had killed his friend. As usual, I received the answer that it was impossible for an outsider to understand conditions as they then existed. "But," continued the narrator, who was a cultured French immigrant artist, "I admit that I would hesitate again to participate in such a struggle with all the barbaric scenes it entails."

For some time the conversation concerned the Indian wars and Minnesota as it was a score of years ago. When I observed the weather-beaten and calloused old-timers who composed the greater part of the native pioneers and listened to their stories, it became clear to me how much the later immigrants owe them and with what full justification they have designed the seal of the North Star state—a man who plows the field with a gun at his side, while a mounted Indian is fleeing toward the setting sun. Consequently it was also a fitting thing to invite the old settlers to take part in the celebration of the opening of this important railway. And so many of them had gathered that with their wives they constituted a party of over three hundred. Several of the ladies also had been in the territory long before its elevation to statehood and not a few had taken part in the wars by loading the guns for the men when things were at their worst. Two of the women interested me especially, as they were half-breed Indians of the Chippewa tribe. They naturally were now dressed in civilized clothes. But although one of them was reported to be very wealthy, her mother, who lived with her in an elegant house, continued to dress as other women of the tribe, and like other *Squaws* she received, with a sort of pride, the woolen blanket from the government yearly unto her death. It must have been with very peculiar emotions that these people took part in this excursion.

At ten o'clock in the forenoon we approached the end of our journey, and we rode over rails resting on ties simply laid loose across the prairie. The track was not laid entirely down to the river, but as soon as the train stopped all streamed out of the coaches and hurried toward a group of trees a couple of hundred yards beyond the engine. There was the famous fork of the Red River. The two branches are called the *Ottertail* and *Bois des Sioux River*, and a rousing hurrah greeted the sight of the waters at their confluence. On the opposite side of the river lay Dakota's flat and outstretched prairies. Several of the party crossed on logs and sent the glad shouts farther into space while they waved handkerchiefs and coats. A lone pioneer had erected his cabin in Dakota Territory near the river; a little caravan of oxcarts was camping on the Minnesota side; but otherwise everything was dead and still as far as the eye could see. The town of Breckenridge, which in 1857 had consisted of a score of houses, had disappeared entirely. In 1862 the Indians had partly killed, partly driven out the inhabitants, and later they had burned all the buildings.⁶ Indeed we found few traces of the once promising town that now is going to be revived. A log house only half ready, a tent, and some chests spread about on the prairie where the train stopped pointed to a beginning. But with the entire *Red River Valley* as back country it will not be long before a town again stands on the old site.

When we had inspected the region, the real ceremony of the opening took place. Colonel [John H.] Stevens of Minneapolis, president of *The old settlers' association*, came forward and addressed a few words to the gathering. The surroundings and the occasion for the gathering of this motley crowd at the fork of the Red River, gave added weight to the short speech of the white-haired, erect old man. He expressed himself about as follows:

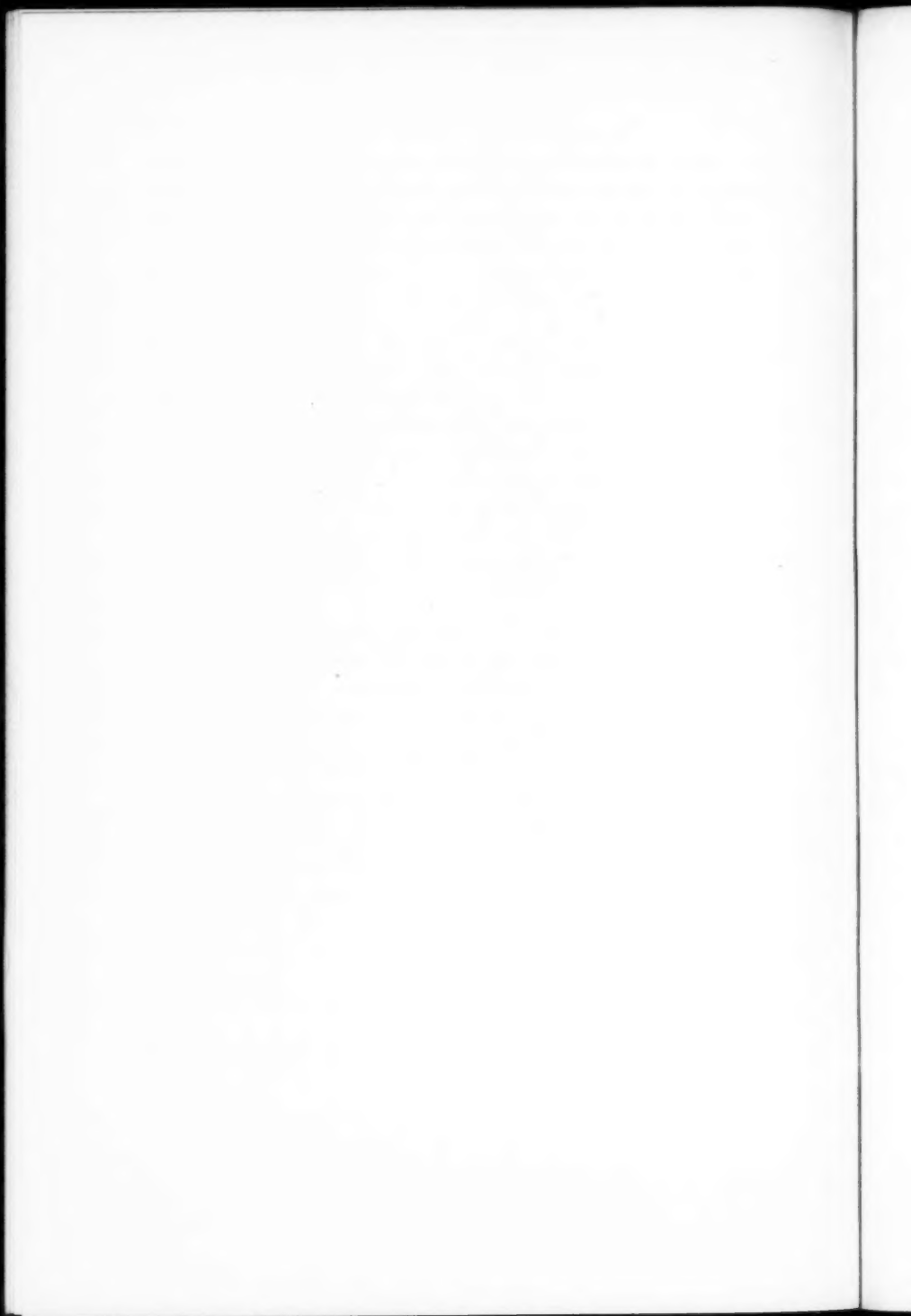
"As president of the first settlers here in Minnesota I may be permitted to say a few words on this memorable occasion. After

⁶ Breckenridge was platted in 1857 and a sawmill was built on the site in the same year, but it is doubtful if many other buildings were erected there at the time. The mill was burned during the Sioux War. Daniel S. B. Johnston, "A Red River Townsite Speculation in 1857," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 15: 421, 433, 434.

a journey from the capital of this state, where the waters glide gently towards the south through orange groves and cotton fields until they arrive at the Gulf of Mexico and perpetual summer, we now stand on the banks of the Red River, which flows in an exactly opposite direction into Hudson Bay and perpetual winter, in the midst of what will become one of the richest grain lands of the world; and we, the old settlers, express our thanks and pleasure that we are permitted to be here today. In the presence of the first governor and over three hundred old settlers, in the presence of him who cultivated the first acre of wheat in Minnesota, and in the presence of our wives, we are witnesses to an event as unusual as it is magnificent. Who among us suspected, when we first stood on this soil, that such a thing could happen in our lifetime — that a railway should connect the Mississippi and the *Red River*? The day has been one of significance for us, and we must make an effort to convince ourselves that we actually are on the banks of the Red River. God bless the new railway and all the old settlers!"

It was a foregone conclusion that President [George L.] Becker, to whose exceptional ability and perseverance it was due in the main that the *Red River* railway was built, would not be forgotten in the many speeches that followed. Joy was general and pronounced, and it would be hard to find a merrier group than the one that returned to St. Paul after this excursion.⁷

⁷ Detailed accounts of the Red River excursion and the texts of the speeches delivered during the celebration are to be found in the *Sketch of the Old Settlers' Association*, 17-29, and in the *St. Paul Pioneer* for October 27, 1871.



REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Hunting of the Buffalo. By E. DOUGLAS BRANCH. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1929. xi, 240 p. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

The trail of the buffalo runs through the whole story of the American frontier. The "long hunters" coming down the western slopes of the Alleghanies picked up the buffalo "trace" worn dusty by the thousands of hooves. A century later the trail played out among the sagebrush in the dry creek beds of eastern Montana, where the fragments of the great northern herd faced the rifles of the hunters for the last time. Indian, buckskin-clad Kentuckian, prairie pioneer, plainsman, hide-hunter, and sportsman followed the mighty hunt as it rolled westward. Around countless camp fires, hunters, red and white, recounted their experiences; and their tales, like those of all hunters, did not diminish with the telling. Travelers and sportsmen from the East and Europe repeated them and added to them their own adventures. To bring the more significant of all these tales together, to place them in their proper setting, and to relate them to the wider aspects of the westward movement is a worth-while task.

In his book *The Hunting of the Buffalo*, E. Douglas Branch has, to a considerable degree, accomplished this. True, nothing has been added to our general knowledge of the subject; indeed there is no evidence to show that the author had any intention of making any definitive contribution to western history. The materials used have long been easily available. He has, on the other hand, told his story enthusiastically and well. There is a freshness, a vigor, and an atmosphere of adventure in the pages that comes from an understanding of the frontier background of the narrative. To the reviewer the absence of long denunciations of the ruthless waste that the hunting of the buffalo involved is a relief. Propagandists and sentimentalists exhausted this aspect of the story years ago. To the frontier mind the

extinction of the great herds that cumbered the plains was normal and inevitable. The author does well in accepting this point of view.

There is a tendency to draw conclusions based wholly on speculation, intriguing, to be sure, but hardly sound. It is more than doubtful that it ever entered the head of Grant's secretary of the interior that "the unpleasant currents of liberalism in Missouri" might be stopped by "opening up the buffalo range to the western farmers." Again the fact that stock-stealing in Wyoming was contemporaneous with the destruction of the northern herd by no means signifies that the hide-hunters turned horse thieves in Jackson's Hole or elsewhere. But why cavil? It is a grand yarn, excellently told, with passages that give evidence of great literary promise. The reader can forgive much of an author who can describe the declining Spanish Empire in America as "already a gouty, senile thing, sprawled over a vast area of sleepy inanition." The format of the book is excellent and the illustrations are well chosen and helpful.

ERNEST S. OSGOOD

Chippewa Customs (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletins*, no. 86). By FRANCES DENSMORE (Washington, 1929. xii, 204 p. Illustrations. \$1.60.)

For many years Miss Densmore has been collecting the characteristic songs and music of various Indian tribes in the United States, an enterprise that has given her many opportunities to acquire information about their customs and beliefs.

In this volume she has compiled with great care a vast amount of information bearing upon the daily life of the Chippewa, and its value is increased by the inclusion of a number of photographs of the Indians at their daily tasks. The building of a wigwam, the seining and drying of fish, the making of maple sugar, and various other activities are thus illustrated, as well as the articles with which the processes are carried on.

Valuable as is the record offered by this book, the historian could wish that it had been possible to work backward from present conditions and observances to the primitive period when white

influences had not effected such tremendous changes. The author has made some attempts to perform this difficult feat by quoting her Indian informants on the subject of methods pursued before the arrival of the white man. The information secured in this way is largely tradition, however, and needs to be supported by analytical studies.

The account of the history of the Chippewa tribe, which forms the introduction to the study, is so brief as to be almost misleading. For instance, though it is true that an agency was established for the Chippewa in 1822, yet the agent, Henry R. Schoolcraft, was stationed at Sault Ste. Marie, more than a thousand miles away from the haunts of the Red Lake and Pembina Chippewa; and Lawrence Taliaferro, the Sioux agent at Fort Snelling from 1820 to 1840, actually had closer contacts with the Minnesota Chippewa than their official agent. Miss Densmore fails to discuss the great treaties negotiated at Prairie du Chien in 1825 and at Fort Snelling in 1837, though they are fully as significant as those mentioned.

The glossary, with explanations, covers twelve pages and is useful in connection with the reading of the volume, but its general value would have been increased by an alphabetical, instead of a topical, arrangement of the words.

Miss Densmore has done a valuable piece of work for posterity by collecting this material before the older Indians who know how to gain their livelihood from the forests and streams have all passed off the stage and before the old culture is completely submerged by the conquering white civilization. The book should be on general library reference shelves.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK

Copper: Its Mining and Use by the Aborigines of the Lake Superior Region; Report of the McDonald-Massee Isle Royale Expedition, 1928 (Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, *Bulletins*, vol. 10, no. 1). By GEORGE A. WEST. (Milwaukee, 1929. 184 p. Illustrations, maps.)

The author of this monograph is president of the board of trustees of the Milwaukee Public Museum, under the auspices of

which the McDonald-Massee Isle Royale expedition was made. It should be read in conjunction with the report of the 1924 expedition to the same island under Dr. Samuel A. Barrett, director of the museum.

Because of the inaccessibility of the group of islands known collectively as Isle Royale and the difficulty of conducting archeological excavations in their almost uninhabited wilderness of timber, swamp, and rock, little has been done towards solving the problems presented by the great number of aboriginal pits from which copper has been taken. The 1928 expedition made a general survey of the remains in various parts of the island and did a certain amount of exploratory digging. Perhaps the most important find was an ossuary at Point Houghton, from which the remains of at least twelve persons were removed. This discovery will furnish some clues to the identification of the people who worked the copper lodes on the island and offers promise that other finds will be made as intensive investigation progresses.

After giving some account of the methods pursued by these prehistoric miners, the author proceeds to classify by types the various forms of copper artifacts, on the basis of information derived from a study of the outstanding collections of the country. His illustrations of type specimens are very good and in attempting such a division he has done archeologists a real service. Unfortunately the descriptions do not always tally with the plates and some confusion results, but this is a minor matter. A slightly different grouping of the items in the various plates, so as to bring together all the specimens dealt with under a given heading, would have made the discussion easier to follow.

The monograph is a valuable addition to the small body of literature dealing with copper implements of the western area, and it is to be hoped that Mr. West, with the coöperation of the institutions and individuals possessing copper collections, will carry his investigations still further.

W. M. B.

Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927
(Sixty-ninth Congress, 2 session, *House Documents*, no. 783).

Compiled by ANSEL WOLD. (Washington, 1928. 1740 p.
Illustrations. \$4.50.)

As early as 1859 a general congressional directory, including both the current and preceding congresses, was issued, and there have been six later editions bringing this work up to date. These did not represent attempts to correct and revise the earlier sketches, however, but only to add new ones. Mr. Wold has grappled with the enormous problem of a general revision, with a view to correcting errors and supplementing incomplete records. The sketches, about nine thousand in number, are arranged alphabetically; they run generally from about 150 to 200 words in length; and they give in condensed form the outstanding facts, with emphasis upon positions held, in each individual's life, from birth to death and interment. Unfortunately they do not include any references to sources of information; they do not list published writings; and they give no hint of the personalities or of the significant achievements of the individuals discussed. For a biographical dictionary these are serious shortcomings; fortunately, however, the more important names will also be included in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, now in course of publication. The present work will always have considerable value for certain types of reference. It is convenient, for example, to have brief sketches in condensed form of every senator and representative from Minnesota from pioneer days down to the Sixty-ninth Congress. The usefulness of the work for reference is increased by the inclusion of lists of the executive officers for each presidential administration; a roll of the members of each session of Congress, with the names arranged by states; and a table showing the apportionment of representatives made in each census year.

T. C. B.

Marketing: A Farmer's Problem. By BENJAMIN F. GOLDSTEIN, A.B., LL.B., member of the Chicago bar. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1928. xiv, 330 p.)

The title of this volume is most misleading — it was obviously chosen for its selling value. The book is not directly concerned with the larger problem of agricultural marketing, but with the development of a system of state regulation of the Chicago grain trade. The author became interested in the subject while serving as special counsel for the grain marketing investigating committee of the Illinois legislature in 1927. In this study he tests the validity of the committee's conclusion that the disorganization existing in the Chicago grain market is the result of archaic laws.

The present body of law regulating the grain trade in Chicago is based, says the author, on the Illinois constitution of 1870. Article 13 of that constitution was adopted in response to a demand for the destruction of the virtual monopolies that were responsible for abuses in transportation and in the grain trade in Illinois. A system of regulation was established by the Granger legislation. Conditions that were so regulated soon changed, however. In the seventies Chicago had no serious competitor in the grain trade; by the nineties she was forced to fight for her position as a grain market. This development was the result in large measure of changes that had occurred in Chicago's hinterland. The wheat areas had shifted and new markets — Minneapolis, Duluth, Kansas City — had developed, which, with new shipping routes and methods, tended to eliminate Chicago as a factor in the moving of grain eastward. To meet this new situation Chicago was forced to decrease charges in the grain trade. The functions of storing and merchandising were consequently combined, and the public warehousemen became traders. This unfortunately gave the warehousemen an opportunity to profit by certain questionable practices harmful to others. Demands for reform arose and the supreme court of Illinois, invoking the constitution of 1870, declared it unconstitutional for public warehousemen to trade in grain stored in their own elevators. The author shows that the regulation of the new developments, rather than their destruction, would have been more in keeping with economic needs.

Conditions in Chicago became worse instead of better. Most of the public warehousemen gave up their right to do public storing, for as private warehousemen they were allowed to trade without regulation. Eventually they came to dominate the Chicago market. They won the upper hand over the few remaining public elevators and they gained control of the board of trade. Out of this situation grew the present evils in the Chicago market. The author maintains that any plan for remedying these evils must provide regulation consistent with existing economic conditions and needs in the Chicago market.

Anyone interested in the problem of regulating agricultural marketing agencies should find this book well worth reading. Its analysis of the development of the present system of regulation in Illinois is clear and apparently unbiased; and its treatment of the economic factors involved, though brief, is essentially sound. Material for the study has been drawn largely from laws and court decisions. For information on economic conditions the author has depended chiefly on the Federal Trade Commission's reports on the grain trade and on other official publications. A few excellent secondary studies, like Solon J. Buck's *Granger Movement*, have been used; some that would have been helpful have, however, been disregarded. The book is fully documented, but unfortunately it has no index. It is marred throughout by inexcusable errors, due apparently to careless proof reading.

HENRIETTA LARSON

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Fifteen additions to the active membership of the society were made during the quarter ending June 30. The names of the new members, grouped by counties, follow:

CARVER: Anthony C. Wessale, Waconia.

HENNEPIN: Benjamin Drake, Charles B. Elliott, Mrs. Franklin G. Holbrook, Oliver D. Hutchinson, Carl W. Jones, Walter P. Quist, and Bergmann Richards, all of Minneapolis.

RAMSEY: Mrs. Georgia F. Blake, Dr. Karl Dedolph, Dr. Olga S. Hansen, Mrs. Thomas McDavitt, and Mary S. Willes, all of St. Paul.

STEARNS: Josephine V. Brower, St. Cloud.

NONRESIDENT: Leon T. Bulen of Missoula, Montana.

The society lost three active members by death during the three months ending June 30: W. Robert Mills of St. Paul, April 15; Mrs. Georgia F. Blake of St. Paul, April 27; and William O. Winston, Jr., of Minneapolis, June 18. The deaths of five other members have not previously been reported in this magazine: W. E. Parker of Wadena, October 29, 1928, and John M. Wulfin of St. Louis, January 28, 1929, both active members; and Hugh McMaster Kingery of Worthington, Ohio, February 20, 1927; George E. Howard of Lincoln, Nebraska, June 9, 1928; and Charles F. Lummis of Los Angeles, November 25, 1928, all corresponding members.

The Business and Professional Men's Post 332 of the American Legion, Minneapolis, and the American Legion Auxiliary of Pine City have become institutional members of the society during the quarter ending June 30. North High School of Minneapolis has become a subscriber to the society's publications and the Minneapolis Public Library has taken out fourteen subscriptions for its branch libraries.

Mr. Jacob Hodnefield, who has served as head of the accessions department of the society for the past eight years, has resigned

to accept a position as head of the reference division of the James J. Hill Reference Library in St. Paul. Miss Esther Jerabec has been appointed to fill the position thus vacated and will take up her work in September. She is a graduate of Macalester College, holds the degree of master of arts from the University of Minnesota, and has had extensive teaching and library experience. Miss Leone Ingram has resigned as cataloguer and will attend the library school of the University of Illinois during the coming year. Her position has been filled by the appointment of Miss Esther Johnson, a graduate of the University of Minnesota, who has studied library methods at the University of Illinois. Miss Johnson will take up her work on September 1. Another new appointment, which took effect on July 1, is that of Miss Elizabeth Hedberg, a graduate of the Johnson High School in St. Paul, as catalogue clerk.

The assistant superintendent, Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, resumed his duties on August 1 after a year's absence in Europe as a fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation of New York. Mr. Verne E. Chatelain, who has served as assistant superintendent during Dr. Blegen's absence, will return to Nebraska to resume in September his position as head of the department of history and social sciences in the State Teachers College at Peru.

Two members of the staff, Dr. Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts, and Miss Bertha L. Heilbron, assistant editor of this magazine, have gone ~~abroad~~ on leaves of absence for the summer months. From the middle of June until September, Miss Ethel B. Virtue, formerly curator of the manuscript division and now a teacher of Latin in the high school of Webster City, Iowa, will be in charge of the division. Miss Heilbron's position is occupied temporarily by Miss Livia Appel, formerly of the war records division.

Miss Alice E. Smith of St. Paul, formerly a special editorial assistant for the society, has been appointed curator of the department of maps and manuscripts of the Wisconsin Historical

Society. Readers of the magazine will recall her recent article on "The Sweetman Irish Colony" (*ante*, 9: 331-346).

The superintendent spoke on May 16 at the dedication of a marker erected at Champlin in honor of Louis Hennepin by the Minnesota Society of the Daughters of the American Colonists; he was present at the Conference on the History of the Trans-Mississippi West in Boulder, Colorado, in June (see *ante*, 209), and led a round-table discussion of the "Problem of Adequate Historical Collections." The curator of manuscripts addressed a recent meeting of the Parent-Teacher Association of Tuttle School, Minneapolis, on the subject of "Pioneer Women." The curator of the museum spoke on "Pioneer Life" to a class of students from Augsburg College, Minneapolis, on April 8, and on "County Historical Societies" to the Hennepin County Territorial Pioneers' Association in Minneapolis, on June 1. He also conducted a group of about a hundred students at the University of Minnesota summer session on a trip to Fort Snelling and Mendota on June 29.

ACCESSIONS

A photostatic copy of a letter written on November 20, 1804, by Beal N. Lewis describing a trip on the stage route from New Rochelle, New York, to New York City has been secured through the courtesy of Mr. Lewis Mann of St. Paul, the owner of the original. The letter contains an interesting description of Tom Paine, the author of *Common Sense*, who was a fellow traveler with Lewis.

A diary kept by Abner S. Goddard at New Diggings, Wisconsin, from February to April, 1850, has been added to the society's collection of Goddard Papers (see *ante*, 204). The record includes references to the prevalent "California fever" of the time.

A large and important collection of the papers of Nathan Butler, pioneer settler and civil engineer, has been presented by Mr. Donald Childs of Shakopee. Butler was a native of Maine who settled at St. Anthony Falls in 1856, and among the tasks that

fell to his lot was that of making extensive land surveys for the Great Northern Railroad. The papers consist of small diaries covering the period from 1859 to 1923; many surveyor's maps and plats; twenty-one books of surveying notes, relating mainly to regions in central and northwestern Minnesota; five books of log marks; nine volumes of records kept by Butler as land examiner; and many reminiscent articles on timber cruising, surveying, and exploring trips in the unsettled parts of Minnesota.

Probably careful examination would disclose numerous printed letters from Minnesota in eastern and midwestern newspapers from the fifties to the eighties. Dr. Charles O. Paullin recently sent the society a photostatic copy of one such letter, written by "H. M. T. S." from the Falls of St. Anthony on July 21, 1854, and published in the *Puritan Recorder* (Boston) for August 17 of that year. It contains a fervid romantic description of Lake Harriet, Minnehaha Falls, and other sights seen during "One Day in Minnesota." The manuscript of another letter of this type, written by Harry Woodsmall from Minneapolis in October, 1871, to the editor of the *Gosport Independent* (Indiana) has been added to the Curtis H. Pettit Papers by Mrs. George P. Douglas of Minneapolis. Minnehaha Falls is characterized by Woodsmall as "principally noted for having the largest reputation on a small capital of any falls in the world."

A file of notes embodying information gathered by Mr. Marion P. Satterlee of Minneapolis about the victims of the Sioux Outbreak has been presented to the society by the author. Upon these materials, which represent many years of investigation, Mr. Satterlee has based his various publications on the outbreak.

Two manuscript doctoral dissertations, Sister Eucharista Galvin's "Influence and Conditions Affecting the Settlement of Minnesota, 1837-1860" (University of Chicago) and Professor Hugh Graham's "Rise and Progress of Secondary Education in Minnesota" (University of Minnesota), have recently been presented to the society by the authors. Mention may also be made of two undergraduate papers, copies of which have been acquired, Carlton C. O. Qualey's "Norwegian Settlement in Minnesota, 1865-1875"

(St. Olaf College), and Margaret Slocumb's "Development of Daily Journalism in the Twin Cities" (University of Minnesota).

Several important additions have been made recently to the society's collection of church history materials. One is a partial file for the period from 1829 to 1909 of the *Home Missionary*, published by the American Home Missionary Society, known after 1874 as the Congregational Home Missionary Society. Included in it are numerous reports from missionaries stationed in Minnesota during the fifties and thereafter, which give much information, not only on religious conditions in the territory and the state, but also on pioneer conditions in general. Considerable material on the German Lutheran Church in America may be culled from *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nord-Amerika*, of which the society has acquired a partial file for the period from 1843 to 1910. This periodical was founded at Nördlingen, Germany, in 1843 under the editorship of Wilhelm Löhe, noted Lutheran divine, and an associate; Löhe was much interested in the spiritual welfare of Germans who had emigrated to the United States and had established two schools for the training of missionaries to them. Many of the articles deal with church activities in the Northwest, though comparatively few relate specifically to Minnesota. A file for the period from 1868 to 1906 of *Budbæreren*, official organ of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America and its successor, the Hauge Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Synod in America, is valuable for a study of Norwegian Lutheranism in the United States. A partial file for the period from 1882 to 1927 of a third Lutheran journal, the *Lutheran Church Review*, published at Philadelphia, has been presented to the society by the Lutheran Theological Seminary of that city.

Among additional books and papers of Edward D. Neill recently presented by his daughter, Miss Minnesota Neill, is the copy of the first edition of his *History of Minnesota* in which he made notes for revised editions. In the back of this volume was found an eighteenth-century French map of Louisiana and the course of the Mississippi River made by Guillaume Delisle. The society previously had photostats but no original copy of this map.

Five volumes, for the period from 1876 to 1881, of the *Press and Dakotian*, published at Yankton, Dakota Territory, have been added to the newspaper files of the society. This paper, which served a large district, contains much material of value for students of the history of the West, especially for those interested in early Dakota settlement.

Recent additions to the society's portrait collection include oil portraits of Pierre Bottineau and his son, Jean Baptiste Bottineau, gifts from Mrs. Marie L. B. Baldwin of Washington, D. C., a granddaughter of Pierre Bottineau; pastel portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Haggerty of St. Paul, from their daughter, Mrs. James Clancy of St. Paul; and a group photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Asa Hutchinson and their son, Oliver Dennet, taken in 1870 when they were prominent singers in Minnesota, from Mr. Oliver D. Hutchinson of Minneapolis.

A number of pencil sketches of the upper Mississippi region made by Augustus O. Moore in the early sixties (see *ante*, 8: 59) have been given to the society by his daughter, Mrs. Nina Moore Tiffany of St. Paul, and his sons, Mr. James L. Moore of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Mr. Elliott A. Moore of Redlands, California; and copies of several water-color paintings of Indians and of Wisconsin and Minnesota scenes by an Austrian artist, Jean Baptiste Wengler, were purchased from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. A collection of negatives of scenes in early St. Paul and its vicinity are the gift of the Artcraft Photo Company of St. Paul.

Among recent additions to the costume collection are a black silk gown dating from 1899 and a child's dress from 1850, received from Mrs. William C. Whitney of Minneapolis; a number of dresses from the estate of the late Mrs. Helen H. Upton dating from 1889 to 1900, from Mr. H. R. Upton of Dawson; and an ivory faille silk gown dating from 1886, given by Miss Anne Berryhill of Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. S. S. Johnston of Minneapolis has presented a military coat worn by his grandfather as a member of General Wellington's bodyguard.

An album containing nearly two thousand postage stamps, most of them twentieth century issues, has been presented to the society by Mr. John J. Kelly, Jr., of St. Paul.

To the museum's collection of tools have been added a frow received from Mr. Nelson Flint of North St. Paul; a large number of carpenter's tools dating from 1852, from Mr. Sidney J. Stebbins of Morris; and a number of shoemaker's tools used in New Hampshire about 1825, from Mr. Frank Nutter of St. Paul.

A large number of rosaries and medals collected for their artistic merit by the late Mrs. Henry C. Burbank, formerly of St. Paul, have been presented by Mr. W. B. Mitchell of St. Cloud.

Twenty-one autograph letters written by noted American politicians have been presented by Mrs. Edward C. Dougan of St. Paul. They include letters from Ignatius Donnelly, Henry Wilson, Zachariah Chandler, Francis Blair, Jr., and others to Daniel Rohrer of St. Paul. Through Mrs. Dougan's courtesy a copy has been obtained of an unpublished Lincoln letter.

NEWS AND COMMENT

In the present age of realism it is a fair question whether or not American historical studies of pioneer life have succeeded in coming to grips with the truth. Has the tendency to idealize the life and achievements of the pioneers put an aura of romantic unreality over the history of the foundation period of the Middle West? Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University complains of great difficulty in finding material for the use of eastern college students that will enable them to get a realistic conception of living conditions among the pioneers. In a paper entitled "Some Neglected Aspects of Settler Life," published in the *Proceedings* of the tenth annual Indiana history conference (*Indiana History Bulletin*, extra no. 2, May, 1929), he lists the following eight needs that have been impressed upon him by his teaching experience: careful analyses of the elements comprising the population of the pioneer West; realistic descriptions of life in log cabins; detailed examinations of the facts about the pioneer's selection of land with a view to answering such questions as why many settlers preferred wooded to prairie land; detailed analytical studies of such subjects as pioneer foods, health conditions, medicine, and speech. These and other aspects of pioneer life, according to Professor Nevins, "deserve more scientific treatment, more penetrating and realistic inspection, than they have received." It may be noted that Dr. Knut Gjerset and Dr. Ludvig Hektoen, the one an historian and the other a physician, have collaborated in a remarkably realistic study of "Health Conditions and the Practice of Medicine among the Early Norwegian Settlers, 1825-1865," published in the Norwegian-American Historical Association's *Studies and Records*, 1:1-59 (Minneapolis, 1926). This article, though it deals primarily with Wisconsin and with one racial group, has general significance because many of the conditions that it analyzes are probably typical of a much wider area than Wisconsin and a much more inclusive group than the Norwegians. The question of land selection has received penetrating discussion in Dr. Joseph

Schafer's studies of agriculture in Wisconsin. In general, however, it must be confessed that there is a large measure of truth in Professor Nevins' indictment. It seems safe to predict that the study of midwestern pioneering will soon produce a much larger yield of analytical scientific accounts of social and economic conditions. In Minnesota, both generally and locally, the field is a fertile one for investigators. Historians have been somewhat too attentive to the exceptional, the heroic, the bloody, the dramatic aspects of history. Has not the time come for intensive studies of the usual, the everyday, the peaceful, the undramatic aspects?

The search of Professor Nevins for realistic materials about American pioneer life calls for comment from another point of view. One may venture the guess that it involved a laborious examination of the publications of numerous local and state historical agencies. It is conceivable that many illuminating items escaped his attention. The point suggests a text for a little sermon to historians. Coöperation and organization are becoming increasingly imperative in historical work throughout the world. In England plans are now under way for indexing in some practical manner publications of local historical, archeological, and record societies. In England as in America there is obviously a great mass of historical production that, for lack of adequate indexing, is virtually lost outside the immediate circle in which it is produced. There is, to be sure, considerable bibliographical work at present; the difficulty is that its results are widely scattered, as is pointed out in an article entitled "Index of Academy Publications" in the June *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research. Englishmen are wisely turning their attention to the problem of co-ordinating the labors of historical investigators; Americans may profitably study the methods that are being applied in England. For, with constantly increasing local history organization and production in this country, the need of well-oiled machinery for keeping students aware of what has been done becomes daily more necessary if duplication is to be avoided, if the results in many fields are to be coördinated, if American history as a whole is to profit from local history zeal. As the *Bulletin* observes editorially, "local and national records may, perhaps, be divorced

for the purpose of editing, but not for that of writing history." From the national point of view local history work has been compared with the production of the parts of a machine, and, as Professor Trevelyan has pointed out, the parts need to be assembled. To devise plans for such assembling harmonizes with the spirit of the times in historiography.

An evaluation of the contributions to American thought made by a noted son of the Middle West is contained in an article entitled "A Bibliography of Thorstein Veblen" by Harold A. Innis, in the *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly* for June. Mr. Innis mentions the fact that Veblen was graduated from Carleton College in 1880, but he gives very little information about the famous economist's early life.

A revised and enlarged edition of *Prairie Smoke*, a series of legends of the Indians of the Missouri Valley recorded by Melvin R. Gilmore, first issued in pamphlet form in 1921 (see *ante*, 4: 279), has been recently published (New York, 1929. 208 p.). The present volume includes fifty-nine legends of Dakota, Arikara, Pawnee, Mandan, Omaha, and Chippewa origin, twenty-seven of which did not appear in the earlier collection.

A collection of Chippewa objects assembled by Mrs. Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin of Washington, D.C., is described in an interview with the owner in the *Washington Evening Star* for April 15. The article includes the announcement that Mrs. Baldwin's collection is on display in the library of the Indian service in the Department of the Interior Building. Mrs. Baldwin is a granddaughter of Pierre Bottineau, the "Kit Carson of the Northwest."

A study of the *Development of Governmental Forest Control in the United States* by Jenks Cameron has been published by the Institute for Government Research as one of its *Studies in Administration* (Baltimore, 1928). The last chapter is a brief essay on "The Forest and American History."

Mr. Arthur D. Howden Smith's popular biography of *John Jacob Astor, Landlord of New York* (Philadelphia, 1929. 296 p.)

might with equal appropriateness have borne the subtitle "fur trader," as four of its six "books," or sections, deal with that fundamental aspect of Astor's career. The section on the American Fur Company bears the fitting title "The First Trust."

The Fur-Trade and Early Western Exploration by Clarence A. Vandiveer (Cleveland, 1929. 316 p.) consists of twenty-eight popular magazine sketches on various aspects of a very important subject. Though interesting, the chapters are not particularly well articulated and they are of slight structure. Perhaps the only justification for bringing them together in book form is the author's conception of the fur trade as a unified subject. Recent years have witnessed a very considerable amount of documentary and monographic publication in this field by American and Canadian scholars. A well-written work on the American fur trade adequately synthesizing available knowledge is a *magnum opus* to dream of; no such book has yet appeared.

Under the title "McTavish, Frobisher and Company of Montreal," Mr. R. Harvey Fleming publishes in the *Canadian Historical Review* for June a letter from Simon McTavish to Joseph Frobisher written in April, 1787, together with an agreement and an indenture signed on November 19, 1787, by these two noted Montreal fur merchants. The documents throw much light upon the affairs of the two trading houses represented by the signers and of the Northwest Company — affairs centering about that fur trade for which Grand Portage was a leading depot. After sketching the history of the joint firm of McTavish, Frobisher, and Company, the editor declares that it had been "a leader in bringing all the varied operations of the fur-trade from the Far West to the markets of London within the scope of a single organization. It had exerted a growing influence on government both in Canada and in Great Britain, and had taken an ever-widening place in international trade."

"English Fear of 'Encirclement' in the Seventeenth Century" is the subject of an article by William T. Morgan in the *Canadian Historical Review* for March. "On the north, England was hemmed in by the French on the St. Lawrence; on the south and

west, by the Spanish": hence the struggle for the Ohio Valley, the significance of which had been put thus by Champlain in a letter to Cardinal Richelieu: "Possessing the interior of the country we shall be able to expel our enemies . . . and compel them [*the English*] to retire to the coast, and if we deprive them of trade with the . . . Iroquois, they will be forced to abandon the whole country."

An extraordinarily interesting and valuable record of the Saskatchewan fur trade in the last decade of the eighteenth century is presented in the *Journal of Duncan M'Gillivray of the North West Company at Fort George in the Saskatchewan, 1794-5*, edited by Arthur S. Morton (Toronto, 1929. lxxviii, 110 p.). The first entry, for July 21, 1794, records a crossing of the Grand Portage and this is immediately followed by a record of a canoe voyage along the northern boundary waters. "The contribution of the volume is in the clearness with which the relation of the Saskatchewan to the fur-trade is described," writes Dr. H. A. Innis in the *Canadian Historical Review* for June. "The sections are arranged, and the journal presented, to illustrate the position of the area tributary to the Saskatchewan as a source of supplies of pemmican for the trade; as the boundary between the strong woods of the north and the plains to the south, and between the Crees and the Plains Indians; and as a competitive battle ground between the North West Company, the Hudson's Bay Company and the free trader."

The career of Captain Joseph Throckmorton, who commanded steamboats on the upper Mississippi from 1828 to 1849 and continued his connection with the river trade until his death in 1872, is discussed by William Petersen in the April issue of the *Palimpsest*. Many of the boats that Throckmorton took upstream to the mouth of the Minnesota are described, and among the trips that are outlined is one up the St. Croix to Stillwater in 1845. In another article in the same number Ben Hur Wilson tells the story of the "Forest City Meteor," which fell in northern Iowa in 1890. He relates how Professor Horace V. Winchell purchased one of the meteorites for the University of Minnesota and explains

the litigation that followed, a subject that is also discussed by the editor in a comment on "The Jurisprudence of Meteorites."

In *The Seven Rich States — the Heart of America, Whose People Should Abundantly Prosper but Do Not*, Elias Rachie discusses agricultural depression in the Northwest and its causes and suggests some possible solutions for the problem (Minneapolis, 1929. 127 p.). The author believes that the section of which he writes — Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, and Montana — "can become the most advanced, wealthy and populous extensive area of land on the face of the globe."

A valuable survey of *State Recreation: Parks, Forests, and Game Preserves*, by Beatrice W. Nelson, has been published by the National Conference on State Parks (Washington, D.C., 1928. 436 p.). In one of the introductory chapters the author presents a "History of State Recreational Areas," in which she mentions Minnesota as one of the pioneer states in the field; the first state park in America was created in 1865; Minnesota established its first in 1889. Sections dealing with the park situation in every state of the Union appear in the volume; that on Minnesota includes accounts of state monuments, forests, and game reserves (p. 129-139). At the end of the book are tables showing the location, area, date of creation, method of acquisition, and special characteristics of the parks in each state.

Among the more notable publications brought out in connection with the centenary of the birth of Carl Schurz, March 2, 1929, are the *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz, 1841-1869*, translated and edited by Joseph Schafer (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vol. 30 — Madison, 1928. 491 p.), and an article on "Carl Schurz — the American" by Carl Russell Fish in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for June. Dr. Schafer's volume possesses special Minnesota interest by virtue of its inclusion of five letters written by Schurz in Minnesota while on a political speaking tour in 1859. "Such corduroy bridges, such mud-holes, such impenetrable thickets of stumps I have never seen," wrote Schurz on September 27, 1859, describing a trip from Belle Plaine to Lexington. "We

had to get down from the wagon almost a dozen times in order to pull the wheels, and occasionally the horses, out of the mud. We made at times not more than two miles per hour. The time passed between laughing and cursing. Finally about three in the afternoon we reached Lexington, a town consisting of a tavern, a schoolhouse, and a store." Professor Fish closes his discriminating appraisal with these words: "Our American liberal statesmen are few in number, and in the scant front rank stands Schurz."

The reports of the United States military inspector of fortifications to the war department during the years 1824 to 1832 about conditions at Fort Howard on Lake Michigan are published in the issue for September-October, 1928, of the *Green Bay Historical Bulletin*. Some early drawings and diagrams of the fort and its location are reproduced.

Plans for an exposition to be held in 1934 to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of Nicolet's arrival at Green Bay are described in the May issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine*. This number is a "special Green Bay edition" and contains several interesting historical articles.

The results of the Isle Royale Archeological Expedition, which "spent nearly a month in the summer of 1928 studying the ancient remains on Michigan's largest island," are reported by George R. Fox in the spring number of the *Michigan History Magazine*. In the same issue is an account of "Michigan's Early Military Roads" by George B. Catlin.

Even sober historians occasionally succumb to the lure of the romance of history. Thus the "Romance of the Mackinac Country" is the theme of an historical article by Dr. Milo M. Quaife in the summer number of the *Michigan History Magazine*.

Trails, Rails, and War: The Life of General G. M. Dodge, by Jacob R. Perkins, is a study of the career of a noted railroad engineer based upon his papers in the possession of the Historical, Memorial, and Art Department of Iowa, under the auspices of which the volume is published (Indianapolis, 1929. 371 p.). The

author shows how Dodge "combined railway promotion, surveying and construction with a potent influence on legislation" and describes "his work as a projector, builder, financier and director." Much attention is given to his Civil War activities and to his contribution to the building of the Union Pacific.

A study of the *Economic History of the Production of Beef Cattle in Iowa*, by John A. Hopkins, Jr., has been published by the State Historical Society of Iowa in its *Iowa Economic History Series* (1928. 248 p.).

Steamboating on the Missouri and Red rivers is discussed in an article on "Pioneer River Transportation in Dakota" by Harold E. Briggs, published in the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* for April. An excellent account of Anson Northup and the boat that bore his name is marred by the misspelling "Northrup." The article contains information about transportation costs; for example, "the freight rates between St. Paul and Winnipeg per hundred pounds in 1875 were as follows: first class, \$2.00; second class, \$1.50; third class, \$1.25; fourth class, \$1.00. Passenger rates were: first class, including meals and berth, \$24.00; second class, deck passengers on steamer, \$15.00." In the same issue of the *Quarterly* Dr. Louis A. Tohill brings his study of "Robert Dickson, Fur Trader on the Upper Mississippi" to a conclusion. A review of this doctoral thesis appears *ante*, 9:153.

An important article on the "Origin of the So-Called Fenian Raid on Manitoba in 1871" by Professor John P. Pritchett, formerly of Macalester College, is published in the *Canadian Historical Review* for March. The abortive raid was the result of a "grand scheme" by William B. O'Donoghue, "conspirator" and "intriguer," for "liberating 'the down-trodden people' of Red River and annexing 'Rupert's land and the North-West Territory, British America' to the United States." O'Donoghue was the "head and front" of the entire movement; the raid was "not Fenian in any shape or form"; and there "is not a single bit of authentic evidence that shows Louis Riel connected in any way with the grand scheme." In reaching these conclusions Mr. Prit-

chett has made skilful use of a mass of documentary, newspaper, and manuscript sources, including the Minnesota Historical Society's collection of Taylor Papers. In the course of the discussion considerable attention is paid to annexation sentiment in Minnesota, especially in St. Paul, where in 1870 O'Donoghue, then on his way to Washington on a "quixotic mission" to the American government, was received most cordially. "For over a decade," writes Mr. Pritchett, "St. Paul had been the centre of a small but vigorous movement in the Republic for the union of the British North-west with the United States." After duly receiving and publishing O'Donoghue's "perverted story of Canadian tyranny and fraud," in which it was claimed that the Red River people "unanimously desired to be joined to the United States," some Minnesota newspapers published editorials claiming that soon "the advancing tide of American farmers would be cultivating the fertile and magnificent plains of the Red River and Saskatchewan districts." Mr. Pritchett asserts that certain "prominent" Minnesotans "privately" countenanced O'Donoghue's Red River scheme, and he suggests that they may have been "representative business men in St. Paul or Minneapolis interested in maintaining the Red River trade, which had become so lucrative in the past couple of decades." In Washington O'Donoghue received the cordial cooperation of Senator Ramsey and actually succeeded in getting an audience with President Grant, in which he pictured the Red River people as pleading for annexation and asked that a word of encouragement be spoken by the United States. "The chief magistrate was not misled by the artifices and machinations of the conspirator." Mr. Pritchett tracks down his villain with the remorselessness of a Sherlock Holmes; his method, indeed, reminds one of the ratiocination of the Baker Street expert.

The first winner of the Tyrrell Medal "for outstanding work in connection with the history of Canada" is Professor George M. Wrong, whose *Rise and Fall of New France* is a notable addition to Canadian historical literature. The medal, endowed by Mr. J. B. Tyrrell of Toronto, is to be awarded annually, "preferably but not necessarily" to a Canadian.

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

"On July 1, 1680, Louis Hennepin left this place to discover St. Anthony Falls. Marked by the Daughters of American Colonists, 1929." These words are inscribed upon a marker dedicated at Champlin on May 16 by the Minnesota branch of that organization.

The account of Governor Ramsey's Minnesota career begun by Mr. Lawrence Boardman in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for March 31 has been completed in nine installments, the last of which appears in the issue for May 26. Mr. Boardman, as noted *ante*, p. 222, has based his account upon unpublished Ramsey diaries in the possession of the governor's daughter, Mrs. Charles E. Furness of St. Paul. He carries his narrative from Ramsey's appointment in 1849 as governor of Minnesota Territory to his departure from St. Paul for Washington as senator elect in 1863. The principal topics dealt with are the appointment of 1849 and the journey to St. Paul; the beginnings of Ramsey's Minnesota career; his experiences as superintendent of Indian affairs; the social life of the pioneer capital; territorial party politics; Ramsey's business enterprises; his service as mayor of St. Paul; his defeat for the state governorship by Sibley in 1857; his election to that office two years later; the beginnings of the Civil War; and the events of the Sioux Outbreak. As a rule the entries, as quoted by Mr. Boardman, are brief, and some events of great importance in which Ramsey played a significant rôle are passed over in the diary with little more than a mention; an example is the negotiation of the Sioux treaties in 1851. Yet the record that Mr. Boardman has used is obviously one of great value for Minnesota history because of the prominence of the diarist and his incisiveness in recording specific happenings and facts. Typical of the laconic but illuminating quality of Ramsey's entries is one for November 9, 1857, when the foundations of American business were shaking: "Times awful. My debts about \$40,000. My property worth a million, yet I am afraid of the consequences." For students of Minnesota history the diaries should prove an illuminating supple-

ment to the comprehensive collection of Ramsey Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Stories of the Indian occupation of Minnesota, French and English explorations, the Pike expedition, the establishment of Fort Snelling, early settlements, pioneer life and industries, and treaty-making with the Indians are retold for children in an illustrated volume by J. Walker McSpadden entitled *Minnesota: A Romantic Story for Young People* (New York, 1928. 128 p.).

Two new state parks will be established as a result of acts passed at the last session of the state legislature. One, in Traverse County, will be a memorial to Samuel J. Brown for his services during the Sioux Outbreak, and the Birch Coulee Memorial Park in Renville County will commemorate the battle there on September 2, 1862. Provision was made likewise for the erection of a monument in Milford Township, Brown County, to those who were killed there during the outbreak. Another monument, to those who lost their lives in the forest fires of 1918, will be erected at Moose Lake.

"The Beginnings of Teacher Training in Minnesota," as sketched by Professor Hugh Graham in a brief article in the *Journal of Educational Research* for June, center about the Winona Normal School, opened in 1860. Dr. John D. Ford, a native of New Hampshire, who settled in Winona in 1856, is designated as the "father of the Minnesota normal school system."

"The Law School and the State" is the title of an address presented by the Honorable Pierce Butler at the dedication of the new Law School Building of the University of Minnesota on April 3 and published in the May issue of *Minnesota Chats*, a monthly publication of the university. The tone of the address is reminiscent and the speaker recalls many of the men connected with the early history of the university whom he has known. In referring to Dr. Folwell he expresses his appreciation of the "most recent gift" of the university's first president to the state — "a complete and authoritative history of Minnesota from the earliest period down to very recent times." Justice Butler also reviews the history of the law school from its establishment under Dean William S. Pattee in 1888.

A volume of *Essays Offered to Herbert Putnam by His Colleagues and Friends on His Thirtieth Anniversary as Librarian of Congress* (New Haven, 1929), collected and edited by William W. Bishop and Andrew Keogh, contains two essays of Minnesota interest. The first of these is one entitled "Mr. Putnam and the Minneapolis Public Library," contributed by Gratia A. Countryman, its present librarian (p. 5); the other, "Notes on the Beginning of a Mid-West University Library," is an historical sketch of the library at the University of Minnesota by its librarian, Frank K. Walter (p. 510).

Stagecoach days in southern Minnesota and northern Iowa are described in an interview with Mr. Charles Peck of Decorah, Iowa, published in the *New Ulm Review* for April 10. When the Sioux Outbreak began in 1862, Mr. Peck was driving a stage between Lansing and Decorah, and he gives an account of the excitement caused throughout the region by the Indian uprising.

A journey of twelve weeks in a covered wagon from Potterville, Michigan, to Minneapolis in 1871 is among the experiences described by G. H. Lewis of Benson in an article published in the *Swift County News* of Benson for May 7. The writer tells how his father and uncle started out with their families to join a colony of Mennonites in Minnesota; how the uncle became discouraged after reaching Minneapolis and returned to his home in Boston; and how his father decided to settle in Osseo, where he remained until 1875, when the mother's death led the family to go back to Michigan. Mr. Lewis and his brother later returned to Minnesota and the former settled at Benson.

Articles about the past and present of a number of Minnesota towns are being published in the Sunday issues of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* as a series on "Industrial Minnesota." Among the communities so dealt with are Detroit Lakes, April 14; Wadena, April 21; Staples, April 28; Montevideo, May 5; Marshall, May 12; Litchfield, May 19; Northfield, May 26; Wabasha, June 2; Moorhead, June 16; and Fargo, North Dakota, June 23.

The Lake Superior iron mining district is described as the "most striking single factor, if not the most important, in the

location of the steel industry of America today" in an article on the "Iron and Steel Industry of the United States," by Richard Hartshorne, in the *Journal of Geography* for April.

A useful handbook of information about *Forestry in Minnesota*, by E. G. Cheyney and O. R. Levin, has been published by the commissioner of forestry and fire prevention and the division of forestry of the University of Minnesota (1929. 55 p.). The authors trace the "Development of the Lumber Industry," tell of the organization of the various state forestry agencies, present briefly the history of conservation in Minnesota, give short histories of the state and national forests of Minnesota, and include much other material of a more technical nature. The locations of the original pine and hardwood forests of the state, of the present regions of virgin forest, and of the state ranger stations are shown on a map.

An account of the "early development of county-agent work" in Minnesota is included in a *History of Agricultural Extension Work in the United States, 1785-1923*, by Alfred C. True, published as number 15 of the *Miscellaneous Publications* of the United States department of agriculture (Washington, 1928. 220 p.). According to this account the first county agent in the state was F. F. Marshall, who began work in Traverse County in the fall of 1912.

The activities of James J. Hill and a number of other Minnesotans in the promotion of cattle-breeding are given due recognition in a *History of Aberdeen-Angus Cattle* by Alvin H. Sanders (Chicago, 1928. 1042 p.).

Information about 866 Minnesotans who died in World War service and are buried in European cemeteries is published in the *Congressional Record* for June 19 at the instance of Congressman Melvin J. Maas of St. Paul, who obtained the data from the quartermaster general of the army. Each name is accompanied by a statement of the man's rank, the organization in which he served, and the location of his grave.

The career of a newspaper publisher and political leader of some importance in Minnesota is the subject of a privately printed

memorial volume entitled *Tams Bixby, 1855-1922* (n. p., n. d. 137 p.). Bixby's political career included service as private secretary for Governors Merriam, Nelson, and Clough; in the newspaper field he established the *Red Wing Sun* in 1884 and acted as general manager of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* from 1907 to 1909. These activities are described in the present volume and a chapter is given to the town-site project that resulted in the founding of Bemidji—a project in which Bixby was greatly interested. Greater emphasis is given, however, to his work as active chairman from 1897 to 1907 of the Dawes commission, which was intrusted with the "administration of the Five Civilized Tribes" of Indian Territory. The illustrations in the volume are particularly noteworthy, since they include many contemporary photographs and cartoons.

The activities of Professor John S. Kedney of the Seabury Divinity School of Faribault as a member of the faculty of the Concord School of Philosophy, established as a summer school in 1879 by Bronson Alcott at his home in Concord, are described by Austin Warren in an article on the school in the *New England Quarterly* for April.

Louis H. Pammel in number 4 of his series of pamphlets devoted to *Prominent Men I Have Met* (Ames, Iowa, 1928. 16 p.) sketches the unique career of Edward W. D. Holway, who spent the years from 1904 until his death in 1923 as an assistant professor of botany in the University of Minnesota. The author touches briefly upon Professor Holway's activities as a banker at Decorah, Iowa, during thirty-five years, a period when his interest in botany was developing, and he tells how later he removed to Minneapolis to devote all his time to the study of this subject, particularly of plant rusts. Numerous articles about Holway and his work are quoted in the sketch.

The second volume of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by Allen Johnson for the American Council of Learned Societies (New York, 1929), includes the names "Barsotti" to "Brazier." Of particular interest to Minnesotans are the biographies of Father George A. Belcourt, Canadian Catholic mission-

ary who established several missions to the Indians, among them one at Pembina; James S. Bell, for many years president of the firm of Washburn-Crosby of Minneapolis; the Chippewa half-breed, Pierre Bottineau, noted as a scout and guide; Lloyd W. Bowers, prominent lawyer and United States solicitor-general under President Taft, who was for many years a resident of Winona; and John E. Bradley, for several years, beginning in 1876, superintendent of schools in Minneapolis. These five biographies were prepared, respectively, by Orin G. Libby, W. J. Ghent, Theodore C. Blegen, Francis S. Philbrick, and Charles H. Rammekamp.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

The early years of the old Franklin School at Mankato are described by Mrs. Zula Bartlett Baker, one of the teachers who helped to open it in 1875, in two interviews published in the *Mankato Free Press* for April 22 and 25. She recalls that she had a large number of German pupils in her classes: "In January, 1876, I had thirty new pupils come in who could not say 'dog' or 'cat' in, as one small boy said, 'American talk.'"

An historic landmark of Blue Earth County, the Seppman Mill, with more than an acre of ground surrounding it, has been deeded to the Blue Earth County Historical Society by Mr. Alfred B. Seppman and Miss Martha A. Seppman. The society plans to restore the old windmill and perhaps add the site to Minneopa State Park, near which it is located. An artistic sketch of the mill, which was built in the early sixties and used until 1890, and an account of its history and construction are published in the *Mankato Daily Free Press* for May 14.

An account of early settlement in the neighborhood of Springfield, by L. E. Potter, appears under the title "In the Days of '69" in the *Springfield Advance Press* from April 18 to May 23. The material, which was gathered by a group of old settlers and prepared for publication by Mr. Potter, consists for the most part of brief reminiscent items and accounts of early days in Springfield, but it includes also a table of information about settlement

in Brookville, North Star, Burnstown, Bashaw, and Sundown townships, naming in separate columns the first and the present occupants or owners of the land. No dates are given, but the author states that only such sections as were occupied about the time when Springfield was incorporated are included. He depended, not on county records, but on the memory of early settlers for his information. The narrative has also been published in pamphlet form.

The story of the settlement of New Ulm in 1854 and 1855 by a group of German colonists and of events connected with its early history is told in the *New Ulm Review* for June 26 and in the *Brown County Journal* for June 28, in connection with the announcement of plans for a Diamond Jubilee celebration in July.

The founding and early history of Chanhassen Township, Carver County, are described in the *Shakopee Argus-Tribune* for April 18.

Eight thousand persons assembled at Center City on May 12 to witness the unveiling of a monument commemorating the establishment there seventy-five years ago of the first Swedish Lutheran church in Minnesota. An article on the history of the church by Luman U. Spehr, published in the *Chisago County Press* of Lindstrom for May 9, includes an account of the beginnings of Swedish settlement at Center City in the early fifties. Portraits of many of the people who helped found the church in 1854 and pictures of the first and present church buildings appear in the same issue of the *Press*.

The organization meeting of the Cottonwood County Historical Society (see *ante*, p. 225) was held at Windom on June 26. After addresses by Judge A. W. Annes and Mr. H. E. Hanson of Windom, Dr. Solon J. Buck of the Minnesota Historical Society, and Mr. I. I. Borgen of Mountain Lake, a constitution was adopted; officers were elected, with Mr. Hanson as the first president; and twenty-six charter members were enrolled. To correlate activities in the various parts of the county, it is planned to appoint a secretary for each township.

A list of the mound groups in the vicinity of Mille Lacs, comprising a total of 1,125 mounds, is included in an article published in the *Brainerd Daily Dispatch* for April 29. Some of the relics that have been discovered upon excavation are described and the preservation of the mounds is urged.

Pioneer life in Dodge County is described by A. P. Baker of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, who spent his boyhood on the Minnesota prairies, in an article published on April 13 in the *Commonwealth Reporter* of Fond du Lac as one of a series entitled "When I Was 21." Mr. Baker's sketch is reprinted in the *Mantorville Express* for April 19.

A pioneer rural school near Bricelyn is described by Mr. Gus Seeley in a brief interview printed in the *Bricelyn Sentinel* for April 4. He relates that eighty-six pupils were in attendance in 1886 and that they came to school on skates during the winter months.

The days when Red Wing was an important primary wheat market are recalled by Mr. Matt Pohl, who settled there in 1867, in an interview published in the *Red Wing Daily Republican* for May 1. He states that he remembers "counting 50 teams, loaded with wheat, headed toward Red Wing . . . on a single day."

Recollections of pioneer conditions in Goodhue County are presented by Mrs. H. T. Hoven in an article on pioneering in Goodhue County, in *Decorah Posten* of Decorah, Iowa, for May 17. The account forms one of a series published under the general title "Minder fra nybyggertiden" ("Memories of Pioneer Times").

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the organization of Goodhue County is noted and the history of the courthouse at Red Wing, which has been in continuous use since its erection in 1858, is outlined in the *Red Wing Daily Eagle* for May 11.

The history of the First Congregational Church of Robbinsdale, which celebrated its fortieth anniversary with special services on May 24 and 26, is outlined by Evelyn Shumway in the *Hennepin County Enterprise* of Robbinsdale for May 23.

An historical pageant, "The Builders of Houston County," was the central feature of a three-day celebration held at Caledonia from June 14 to 16 to commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the county. Among the local history material published to stimulate interest in the event are the reminiscences of Prentice A. Pope and his sister, Mrs. Mary Davidson, in the *Caledonia Journal* for April 3 and 10. This narrative begins with a graphic description of the Pope family's journey from New York to the new western home, a farm site near Caledonia, in 1854. Interesting comments are made on various phases of pioneer life, the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, the growth of the settlement, the first schools, politics of the period, and the religious life of the community. The first installment of the memoirs of another early settler, T. R. Stewart, who came from Massachusetts with his parents in 1853, appears in the *Caledonia Journal* for May 1.

An editorial on the value of "Newspapers as History" appears in the *Jackson Republic* for April 12, the first number of volume 60 of the paper. The writer calls upon the readers of the paper to appreciate the historical value of newspaper files and to provide for their preservation, preferably through local historical societies. The issue also includes a number of articles on the history of the locality, reprinted for the most part from earlier issues or from a volume on the history of Jackson County. Of special interest are an account of early days in the county by M. S. Clough and some recollections of Ormin Nason, recorded thirty-five years ago, in which he tells of carrying mail on foot from Mankato to Sioux City, Iowa, via Jackson, in 1858.

Sketches of the canning, banking, and milling industries at Le Sueur are included among the historical articles published on June 19 in a special edition of the *Le Sueur News-Herald*.

Road-building activities in McLeod County during the sixties and stagecoach facilities in the eighties are described in two articles in the *Glencoe Enterprise* for May 2 and 30.

"From a Castle on the Rhine to a Minnesota Cabin" is the title of a sketch of Mr. Leonard Archer-Burton, who settled at Fair-

mont in 1876 as a member of the Martin County English colony, in the magazine section of the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 26.

Graphic pictures of pioneer life in Martin County are given in a series of papers published in the *Martin County Independent* of Fairmont for May 13, 15, 18, and 20. These papers were prepared by members of the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The history of the Catholic church in Nicollet County is the subject of an article in the *Catholic Bulletin* of St. Paul for June 22.

A sketch of the early history of Ada is reprinted in the *Norman County Herald* of April 12 from the first issue of the *Ada Alert*, published on April 9, 1880. A copy of this rare paper was discovered recently among the papers of a local bank and turned over to the *Herald*. The article not only gives a good account of the founding and early years of Ada, but it also contains much information on conditions throughout Norman County in 1880. Other items from the *Alert* are reprinted in the *Herald* for April 19.

The wrecking of the last store standing on the site of the once thriving village of Marion in Olmsted County is the occasion for the publication of sketches of the history of that town in the *Rochester Post-Bulletin* and the *Winona Republican-Herald* for May 11. Marion was founded in the fifties and for a time was a rival of Rochester, but it lost its prosperity when it was jilted by the railroad.

A *Soil Survey of Olmsted County, Minnesota*, by J. Ambrose Elwell, G. B. Shivery, B. H. Hendrickson, Mark Baldwin, and A. T. Sweet, has been issued by the bureau of chemistry and soils of the United States department of agriculture (1928. 54 p.). It includes some valuable material on crops, climate, population, topography, and the like, but its sketch of the history of settlement is very inaccurate.

Among the interesting features of the Diamond Jubilee held in Rochester from June 9 to 12 to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniver-

sary of its founding were an historical pageant depicting the early history of the community and an exhibit of historic objects, including some early railroad equipment. A special edition of the *Rochester Post-Bulletin* issued on June 7 contains numerous articles on various phases of the city's development.

The third annual summer meeting of the Otter Tail County Historical Society was held on the shores of Rush Lake, in Otto Township, on June 30. The program included papers on the "Early History of Maine Township," by Mrs. John Murdock, and the "History of St. Lawrence Church and the Life of Father Albrecht," by the Reverend Joseph Ambauen, and several short talks by pioneers on the "Early Settlement of Rush Lake." At the close of the meeting a bronze tablet was unveiled on the "Site of the Second Permanent Settlement in Otter Tail County."

A chapter entitled "Askov: A Study of a Rural Colony of Danes in Minnesota," by David Lloyd, is included in a volume about *Immigrant Farmers and Their Children*, by Edmund deS. Brunner (Garden City, New York, 1929. 277 p.). Mr. Lloyd tells of the founding of Askov in 1905 by a Danish colonization society, the difficulties encountered and problems solved by the first settlers, the incorporation of the village, the local industrial life, the coöperative enterprises that are so characteristic of Danish communities, and various phases of the colony's social and cultural development.

A sixty-page "golden anniversary edition" of the *Pipestone County Star* of Pipestone, issued on June 21, contains a wealth of material on practically every phase of the history of the city and the county of Pipestone. Some of the items were prepared especially for this edition; others, such as Nicollet's description of the famous pipestone quarries, are reprinted from previously published works. There are nearly a hundred illustrations.

A noteworthy feature of the meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society held at Mountain Iron on May 23 was an afternoon program presented by the local high school students. Papers relating to the history of the region were read by Alfred Staff,

Effie Johnson, Vera Jusela, and Lillian Mattson. The day was designated as "Mountain Iron Day" in the schools and plans were made for the presentation of local history programs before all classes. The afternoon session of the society was followed by an automobile tour to some of the mines in the vicinity; a dinner, which was attended by about two hundred people; and an evening session. At this meeting papers were read on the history of education at Mountain Iron, by A. W. Saari, Jr.; on the "Coming of the Railroad and the Churches," by N. J. Quickstad; on early days in the community, by Glenn Merritt; and on the "Discovery of the Mesabi Range at Mountain Iron and Vicinity," by R. L. Giffin.

"Teaching in the Early Days on the Iron Range" is the subject of a sketch by Mrs. Susan Gandsey, an early teacher at Hibbing, in the *St. Louis County Independent* of Hibbing for May 10. She tells of the first Hibbing school, opened in 1894, and describes the progress of the school system to 1903, when the first pupils were graduated from the high school.

Accounts of the German colony near Belle Plaine, Scott County; the Scandinavian community of East Union, Carver County; settlement in Benton Township of that county; and farming in the Big Woods in the fifties are given by Win V. Working in the *Belle Plaine Herald* for April 4, 11, 25, and June 27, in a series of local history articles.

Among a series of articles appearing in the *Arlington Enterprise* are an account of the decline of New Rome, once a more or less thriving village on the main road from Henderson to Fort Ridgely, April 11; descriptions of early rural schools and school-teaching, April 18 and May 2; a sketch of St. Johannes Evangelical Church, founded in 1866 at New Rome, May 23; and the story of the founding of Arlington in 1854, June 13.

At a meeting of the St. Cloud Reading Room Society at Sartell on May 16, Mr. William Sartell read a paper on "Early Pioneer Life of Minnesota." He included many recollections of his parents, who settled in Stearns County in 1853, of other pioneers of

the vicinity, and of the beginnings of the milling and lumber industries of the region. The address is printed in full in the *St. Cloud Daily Times* for May 17.

On May 18 there was dedicated in Clinton Falls Township a marker bearing the following inscription: "Frank West Adams, first white child born in Steele County, April 7, 1855-July 11, 1926. Placed by the Owatonna Cosmopolitan Club, May 18, 1929." A sketch of Adams' life, including an account of the emigration of his parents from Massachusetts to Minnesota in the fifties, was prepared for the occasion by his son, Mr. Floyd Adams of Farmington, and is published in the *Owatonna Journal-Chronicle* for May 24.

The pioneer experiences of Mr. and Mrs. Peter Clarno, who settled in Wykeham Township, Todd County, in 1877 are described in an article based on a letter from Mrs. Clarno, who now resides at Alexandria, in the *Long Prairie Leader* for May 23.

A *Brief Sketch of the History of the Elim Lutheran Church* at Scandia by its present pastor, Joel Olsenius, was published in connection with the seventy-fifth anniversary celebration held there recently (Scandia, 1929. 59 p.). Excerpts from the pamphlet are reprinted, with numerous illustrations, in the June 20 issue of the *Chisago County Press* of Lindstrom.

The completion of a new courthouse at Breckenridge was the occasion for the appearance, on June 19, of a special edition of the *Breckenridge Gazette-Telegram*, including sixty-four pages of articles and sketches dealing with many phases of the development of Wilkin County. An account of the Sioux Outbreak by Lawrence Boardman, largely based upon material in the archives of the Minnesota Historical Society, includes excerpts from the diaries of Governor Ramsey (see *ante*, p. 350).

An account of the evolution of barbering "from a trade to a profession" during the past thirty years, with detailed commentary on the changes that have occurred, forms the gist of an interview with Charles A. Kleist, a veteran barber, published in the *Cokato Enterprise* for April 25. The story affords interesting sidelights upon the history of one aspect of American folkways.

A program issued in connection with the dedication of the new Bethlehem Evangelical Lutheran Church of Minneapolis on April 28 includes a brief sketch of the history of the congregation from its organization in 1874 and pictures of the exterior and interior of its first church building.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of Holy Trinity Episcopal Church of Minneapolis, founded in 1850 by the Reverend Ezekiel G. Gear, chaplain at Fort Snelling, was observed by the parish with special services and celebration on April 14 and the days following.

Considerable historical material relating to the Minnesota Veterans of Foreign Wars appears in a special edition of the *Hennepin County Review* of Hopkins for June 6. Among other items is a detailed review of the work of the Hopkins post during the nine years since it was organized.



